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ENGLISH LITERATURE, HISTORY AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

*Later 1908's
complements*

V.—YORK FACTORY TO THE BLACKFEET COUNTRY.

THE JOURNAL OF ANTHONY HENDRY, 1754-55.

Edited by Lawrence J. Burpee, and read May 15, 1907.

OTTAWA

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

1908

*V.—York Factory to the Blackfeet Country.**The Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754-55.*

Edited by LAWRENCE J. BURPEE, and Read May 15, 1907.

In its evidence before the parliamentary committee of 1749 the Hudson's Bay Company was compelled to fall back upon the vague wanderings of Henry Kellsey, in the previous century, to bolster up its contention that it had been true to the implied obligations of its charter; that is to say, that it had promoted the exploration of the vast territory granted by King Charles the Second. It was part of the irony of circumstances that only five years after the publication of the committee's report a really effective argument was furnished, on behalf of the company, by the expedition of Anthony Hendry.

An impartial analysis of Kellsey's journal leaves the impression that the company's case would have been very little weakened by its omission. It has been claimed for Kellsey that on this journey of 1691 or 1692 he reached the Saskatchewan country. Dr. Elliott Coues even went so far as to say that Kellsey was on Lake Winnipeg in July and August, 1692. The statement was made at second hand. If Dr. Coues had kept to his usual careful practice of relying only upon the original documents, he would have found that there is nothing whatever in Kellsey's journal to support such a contention. Neither is there any satisfactory proof that he reached the Saskatchewan, or was at any time within the valley of the Saskatchewan. His distances and directions and his descriptions of the country traversed, so far as they suggest anything, rather go to show that his route lay toward South Indian lake or Granville lake, on the waters of the Churchill. The whole narrative, however, especially in the light of surrounding circumstances, is too unsubstantial to afford any safe ground for historical conclusions.

The case of Anthony Hendry is entirely different. It is possible to follow him almost step by step, from the time he left York Factory, in June, 1754, until he returned to it in June of the following year. During that period of nearly twelve months this plucky young fur-trader travelled, with no white companion, a thousand miles inland, from York Factory to the upper waters of the South Saskatchewan, wintering in the country of the fierce Blackfeet, and returning in safety to the shores of the bay. In the course of his journey he traversed an immense extent of unexplored country. It may be a moot point whether or not

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Hendry was the actual discoverer of the South Saskatchewan. Certainly his is the first unquestionably authentic description of the river, as well as of the great plain lying between the North and South Saskatchewan.

After leaving York Factory, Hendry's course lay up the Hayes river to what was then called Attick-Sagohan or Deer Lake, now known as Knee lake. Even this far there is no record of any earlier exploration, though it is quite possible that some of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company may have reached Knee or Oxford lakes on trading expeditions. There is a note, however, on the margin of Hendry's journal, by Andrew Graham, afterward factor at York, in which the significant statement is made that Hendry was "the first person who ventured inland." This lends at least some colour to the argument, advanced by opponents of the company, that the whole story of Kellsey's journey was a fabrication.

From Knee lake it becomes for a time a little more difficult to follow Hendry's movements. The natural supposition would be that he followed the afterwards familiar route by way of Oxford lake, Echima-mish river and the Playgreen lakes to Lake Winnipeg; and this supposition gains support from the fact that he presently mentions a lake which he calls Christianaux—one of the old French names for Lake Winnipeg.¹ His distances, however, put such a theory out of court; and even if that were not the case, his description of Christianaux lake cannot be made to fit Winnipeg. He makes the explicit statement that in crossing the lake he "passed 22 woody islands." As everyone knows, the northern end of Lake Winnipeg is singularly free of islands. On the other hand, it took him two days to cross Christianaux lake, and he makes the distance fifty-one miles. Admitting that his distances may have been somewhat exaggerated, (and as will be seen presently the probabilities point the other way), there is no lake of this size—on the maps—anywhere between York Factory and Lake Winnipeg. It happens, however, that between Knee and Oxford lakes and Cross lake on the Nelson lies a considerable extent of country that has never been explored; or rather it was supposed that it had never been explored. One or two small lakes appear on the maps, but they are purely conjectural. Both the Nelson river and the Hayes route have been carefully surveyed in recent years, but no officer of the Geological Survey has ever yet traversed the country between Oxford lake and the Nelson. So far as was known, up to a short time ago, no direct canoe route existed from Oxford lake to the Nelson.

¹ Hendry may have got the name from DeLisle's *Carte du Canada*, 1703, or one of the other maps of the period on which Christianaux, or Christineaux, applies to a supposititious lake, north of Lake Nipigon, and connected with Lac des Assenipoules—one of the several names applied to Lake Winnipeg.

In the summer of 1906, however, Mr. Owen O'Sullivan of the Survey met at Oxford House the Rev. Mr. Banel, a missionary, who had just come by canoe from his headquarters on Cross lake to Oxford, and had discovered about midway an unmapped lake, so large that he had been lost upon it for three days. The lake was described as being about a day's journey from Oxford lake. There does not seem to be any reasonable doubt that the lake discovered by Father Banel is the same traversed by Hendry in 1754, and named by him Christianaux.

In tracing Hendry's route throughout all this early part of his journey much help is derived from a comparison of his journal with that of another officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mathew Cocking, who journeyed inland from York Factory in 1772. Cocking's Deer lake is, beyond reasonable question, Hendry's Attick-Sagohān—present Knee lake; and the latter's Christianaux lake becomes Pimochickomow in Cocking's narrative. Cocking notes the fact that there are "many islands in the lake," and gives his distance through the lake as sixty-five miles, from which it would appear that Hendry underestimated rather than exaggerated the length of the lake.

Leaving Christianaux lake, Hendry apparently took the same river to Cross lake followed by Father Banel. For some reason he makes no special mention of Cross lake, but says that he "took his departure from Shad fall" and paddled up a river. This river is given in Cocking's journal as the Minahage or Pine river—the Minago of our modern maps. Ascending this stream he came to a large lake, which he calls Othenume, and Cocking, Oteatowan Sockoegan; evidently Moose lake. Both Hendry's and Cocking's descriptions agree with recent accounts of Moose lake. Paddling up a river emptying into Moose lake, Hendry finally reached the Saskatchewan, or Keiskatchewan as he spells it, and the following day came to a French house, Fort "Basquea," at the mouth of the Pasquia river.

This place, now known as The Pas, was a notable spot throughout the entire period of the fur-trade, from the days of La Vérendrye down. The elder La Vérendrye, so far as his journals and letters show, was never on the Saskatchewan, but one of his sons built Fort Bourbon on the shores of Cedar lake, about 1748, and ascended the river as far as the forks, somewhere below which he built Fort Poskoyac. After the death of the elder La Vérendrye, in 1749, Jacques Legardeur de Saint-Pierre was sent out to continue his explorations in the far west. A party of his men are said to have ascended one of the branches of the Saskatchewan to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, in 1751, and built there Fort La Jonquière. This will be referred to again. Two years later Saint-Luc de La Corne, who had been sent to replace Saint-Pierre,

is said to have built Fort Poskoyac—Fort Poskoyac the second—on the lower Saskatchewan. In a paper read before the Society (R.S.C., 1906, pt. I), Judge Prud'homme furnishes a very ingenious identification of the various French forts built, or said to have been built, on the Saskatchewan. He enumerates six: Forts Bourbon and Poskoyac, built by the La Vérendrye; Fort La Jonquière, built by de Niverville's men; and Forts La Corne, Poskoyac and Pasquia (Poste Pasquia), by Saint-Luc de La Corne. Of these, he says that Fort Bourbon was situated upon Cedar lake, and La Jonquière on the upper Saskatchewan. The two Forts Poskoyac were on the lower Saskatchewan; La Vérendrye's Poskoyac, near the Forks of the Saskatchewan; La Corne's fort of the same name at the entrance to Cumberland Lake; Fort La Corne some distance below the Forks; and Poste Pasquia on the Carrot river.

The late Dr. Elliott Coues, in one of his foot-notes to the Henry-Thompson Journals ("New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest," II, 469), says that The Pas, close to the mouth of the Pasquia River, was the location of old Fort Poskoyac or Poscoiac. We have the evidence of both Hendry's Journal and the Journal of Cocking to prove that a French fort existed at or near the mouth of the Pasquia River. The former establishes the presence of a second French fort, between the mouth of the Pasquia and the Forks of the Saskatchewan—in fact not very many miles below the Forks. Hendry gives no name to this upper fort, but mentions that it was "subordinate to Basquia." Cocking, paddling up the Saskatchewan in 1772, left Basquia on August 1st, and ten days later reached a point on the river where the families of his Indian guides were awaiting them. "Formerly," he notes in his Journal, "the French had a House here... From Basquia to this place I make the course to be S. 58° W. and distance 150 miles." Three days before, that is on the 8th of the month, he had passed "an old Trading House belonging to the French pedlars before the conquest of Quebec." This was about 92 miles from Basquia, and 58 miles from the upper fort. Cocking, therefore, gives us three French posts between The Pas and the Forks. Hendry for some reason does not mention the middle fort. Possibly he passed the spot after dark; or may have been hugging the other bank of the river and so missed it; or, again, it may have been built after his visit.

Of these three forts, we know that the lower was situated at the mouth of the Pasquia. There is less certainty as to the position of the other two. Judge Prud'homme says of the upper one: "Fort La Corne, appelé Nipawi par les sauvages, fondé par le chevalier Saint-Luc de la Corne, à quelques milles à l'est de la jonction des branches sud et nord de la Saskatchewan, en 1753." He is somewhat indefinite as to the posi-

tion. Sir Alexander Mackenzie says that the French had an establishment at Nipawi long before and at the conquest of Canada in 1763. In the *Journal of Alexander Henry, the Younger*, it is stated (p. 482) that he "camped at the spot where the French formerly had an establishment called Fort Saint-Louis, built by Saint-Luc de la Corne in a low bottom on the S. side, where some years ago were still to be seen remains of agricultural implements and carriage-wheels. Their road to the plains is still to be seen, winding up a valley on the S. side." In foot-notes to the *Henry-Thompson Journals* (pp. 481-3), Dr. Coues clearly identifies the position of this old French fort—La Corne, à la Corne, de la Corne, St. Louis, Nipawi, Nippeween, as it was variously called—as "within the present Indian reserve, close to or at the mouth of Payoeran cr., and thus about 12 m. in an air line below the forks—much more by the bends of the river. The position is about the center of Tp. 48, R. xx, W. of the 2d init. merid."

From Cocking's description of the river above Pasquia it is reasonably certain that the point he reached on August 11th, and where he says the French formerly had a House, was the site of Fort La Corne, although his distances are in that event far astray. He makes the distance from Pasquia to this point 150 miles. John Fleming, who surveyed the river from Fort La Corne to The Pas in 1858 (*Hind's "Narrative of the Canadian Red River Expedition,"* etc., I, ch. XXI.), makes the distance about 213 miles.

As to the third French post, between Fort La Corne and Fort Poskoyac, this would seem to be Judge Prud'homme's Fort Poskoyac (the second), "appelé aussi Français, fondé à l'entrée du lac Cumberland par M. de la Corne, entre 1753 et 1755"; but if so, it could not have been situated at the entrance to Cumberland Lake. Fleming makes the distance from The Pas to Cumberland Lake 63 miles. Cocking mentions a carrying-place, on the north side of the river, into a lake named Menistaquatakow, which he makes 52 miles from Pasquia. As he apparently took a short cut across Saskéram Lake, and thus avoided the deep bend in the river north of that lake, his distances would about agree with those of Fleming, and his Menistaquatakow would be Cumberland Lake. But the "old Trading House belonging to the French pedlars," which he passed on August 8th, was about 58 miles above Menistaquatakow Lake. In the interval he had passed a small branch on the south side of the Saskatchewan which "joins the river a little above Basquia"—clearly Sipanok Canal, which runs almost due east to Carrot River, the latter joining the Saskatchewan a little above the Pasquia. From Sipanok Canal to the old fort Cocking's distance is about 27 miles. A few miles below the fort he passed the mouth of a

branch bearing S. by E., which he calls Peatagow River. On Fleming's map (Hind's "Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, 1858"), a small stream is shown entering the Saskatchewan from the south-east, about $103^{\circ} 55'$. As the middle post was about ten miles above Peatagow River, we will be reasonably safe in placing it in long. 104° . Whether or not this was the fort which Judge Prud'homme calls Fort Poskoyac le second, built by La Corne between 1753 and 1755, it is impossible to say. It certainly is nowhere near the site fixed by Judge Prud'homme.

We have, then, the evidence of both Hendry and Cocking as to the existence of two French posts on the Saskatchewan, between the Forks and The Pas; and Cocking bears witness to the presence of a third. With the exception of Fort La Corne, however, it is impossible to reconcile Judge Prud'homme's descriptions with the evidence of these early explorers. Hendry visited the French post at the mouth of the Pasquia in 1754-55, and says of it, "This House has been long a place of Trade belonging to the French." Judge Prud'homme dates the three posts below the Forks between 1753 and 1755; that is to say, just about the time of Hendry's visit.

To sum up, the evidence afforded by these two journals goes to show that there were three French posts on the Saskatchewan between The Pas and the Forks. Of these the oldest was that at The Pas, or the mouth of the Pasquia, built by the Chevalier de La Vérendrye about 1748. The other two, built by Saint-Luc de La Corne, were minor posts; the first situated about 104° ; and the upper post—Fort La Corne—about $104^{\circ} 32'$. Fort La Corne was built in 1753; the lower fort may have been built after Hendry descended the river in 1755.

As Hendry is the only British explorer or trader known to have visited Fort Poskoyac, or indeed any of the French forts west of Lake Superior, up to the close of the period of French rule in Canada, his description of the fort, with the account of his meeting with the French traders, is of exceptional value.

In this connection the following, from Robson's "Account of Six years residence in Hudson's-Bay" (pp. 62-63), is of interest: "It is universally believed among the servants, that the French travel many hundred miles over land from Canada to the heads of our rivers in the Bay, and that they have erected huts and settled a considerable factory upon a lake at the head of Nelson-river; trading with the natives for the lightest and most valuable furs, which they carry a long way before they find a conveyance by water; and this general opinion is not taken up at random, but supported by particular incontestable evidences of the fact. I have seen French guns among the

natives that come to York-fort; and once heard Mr. Brady, the surgeon, converse with one of them in the French language. I have also frequently seen in the governor's hand, a letter addressed to him from the chief factor at the French settlement on Nelson-river. It was written in French and Indian; and the purport of it was to establish a trade between them and the English at York-fort, for those heavy goods which the French stood in great need of, but could not bring from Canada, such as guns, kettles, tobacco, &c., and the English were desired to say, how much beaver they expected in exchange for these articles. The governor told us, that he had sent a copy of the letter to England; and added, that if the Company consented to such a treaty, we should get no furs but what came through the hands of the French, who would soon have huts all the way down Nelson-river.

"The linguists informed me, that they have had a description of the French factory at the head of Nelson-river from different Indians, who all agreed in the principal circumstances, and remarkably in this, that the French have a large boat or sloop upon the lake. These people formerly would have been glad to have had the English accompany them up the rivers; and were once very solicitous to engage us to go up, that we might head them against the French Indians; but they are now very easy and silent upon that subject; the French by kind offices and a liberality in dealing, which we think of no consequence, have obtained so much influence over almost all the natives, that many of them are actually turned factors for the French at our settlements for heavy goods. This the Indians openly acknowledged to the linguist in the year 1746, just before I left York-fort."

After Hendry's day the ruins of the old fort are constantly referred to by explorers and traders who passed them on their way up the Saskatchewan. When Cocking went up in 1772 he mentions Basquia as a "long frequented place where the Canadians rendezvous and trade with the natives." Three years later, Alexander Henry, *the elder*, with Joseph and Thomas Frobisher and the notorious Peter Pond, landed at a Cree encampment on the Pasquia a little above its mouth, and therefore not far from the site of Fort Poskoyac. The traders were politely entertained by a crafty old Indian river-baron named Chatique, who laid tribute upon all that they had, comforting them with the assurance that if they did not pay up cheerfully he would take their lives as well as their possessions. Alexander Henry's nephew and namesake passed the mouth of the Pasquia, or "the little river of Montagne du Pas," as he calls it, in 1808, and mentions that some traces of the old French establishment were even then visible.

Hendry has reached the Saskatchewan, and before speaking of his further explorations, it may be in place to point out that he was the first British trader upon the waters of that great highway of the west. There has been a widespread impression, based upon Alexander Mackenzie's statements in his *History of the Fur Trade*, that the first British traders who reached the Saskatchewan came from Montreal. "In 1770," says Dr. Coues, "Thomas Curry, of Montreal, journeyed to Fort Bourbon, with guides, interpreters, and four canoes and wintered 1770-71. This pioneer of all the English traders was satisfied with his venture, and never repeated it; but he was immediately succeeded by James Finlay, who in 1771 went as far as Nipawi, then the last French settlement on the Saskatchewan." Curry and Finlay may be regarded as the scouts of that great fur-trading enterprise that afterward became known as the North West Company. The men of the North West Company are entitled to the credit of widespread explorations in the west, but the honour of first reaching the Saskatchewan undoubtedly belongs to a Hudson's Bay man, Anthony Hendry.

There seems, too, to have been some misunderstanding as to the relative claims of Curry and Finlay, for we learn from Cocking that Finlay was on the Saskatchewan at least as early as 1767. In paddling up the river, from Pasquia to the Forks, Cocking passed the ruins of a trading post in which, he says, "One Mr. Finlay, of Montreal, resided five years ago." Cocking passed the place in August, 1772. Under date of July 23rd of the same year he notes in his journal, "The Pedlar. Mr. Currie (who intercepted great part of York Fort trade this year) is one day's paddling below this river, at Cedar Lake"; and Andrew Graham, the Factor, adds in a footnote: "Mr. Currie's encroachments was the reason I sent Mr. Cocking inland." This confirms Dr. Coues' statement that Curry, or Currie, was somewhere on the lower waters of the Saskatchewan in 1771, but it is evident that he did not return that year, as he was at Cedar Lake in August, 1772; and five years earlier Finlay was not merely on the Saskatchewan, but had built a trading post well up toward the Forks.

To return to Anthony Hendry and his journal. After he left Fort Poskoyac his course lay for a few miles up the Saskatchewan; six miles, according to his journal. Then he left the river and paddled sixteen miles across a lake on the south side. This could only be Saskeram lake. Then, he says, he came to Peatago river, which he ascended for fifty-five miles, until he could get no farther, and decided to abandon his canoe and travel overland. One would naturally suppose that his river must be the small stream that enters the western end of Saskeram lake; but the distance travelled puts this out of the question. The maps

show no other river emptying directly into Saskeram lake, but I am informed by Mr. D. B. Dowling, of the Geological Survey, to whom I am indebted for a great deal of assistance in tracing Hendry's course after he left the main Saskatchewan, that in periods of high water a channel might easily be found from Saskeram lake to Carrot river. In any event, a short portage would take Hendry to this important tributary of the Saskatchewan, and it can safely be assumed that his Peatago river was the Carrot.

July 27th, Hendry abandoned his canoes, and travelled overland in a general south-westerly direction. He crossed the South Saskatchewan somewhere about Clark Crossing, north of Saskatoon, and three days later reached the North Saskatchewan. He calls the former Wapesewcopet, and the latter Sechonby. As far as one can judge he reached the North Saskatchewan at the Elbow, where the Canadian Northern crosses the river, about midway between Prince Albert and Battleford. He did not cross the river, but continued his way to the westward, following its banks, to a point somewhere in the neighbourhood of the site of Battleford.

From here he turned to the south-west until he came to a small river which he calls Chacutenah, presumably Sounding Creek. Nearly a month later, after an uneventful journey over the Great Plain, he crossed the Waskesew. It is pretty safe to assume that this was the Red Deer, and that the place where Hendry crossed was a little above Knee Hills Creek. This conclusion is based upon a careful comparison of his distances and directions and his description of the country, all three pointing to the place indicated. Curiously enough Waskesew means Red Deer, but this in itself has no particular significance, as there have been innumerable Deer rivers throughout the west.

Anyone who has made a study of early western place-names knows how useless they are; generally speaking, as a guide to the route of explorers. Sometimes, as in the case of Samuel Hearne, those who attempt to trace the course of explorers on a modern map are led absolutely astray by the application of a familiar name to an entirely different body of water. One experiences the same difficulty, to an acute degree, in the case of Hendry. An attempt to identify some of his place-names with rivers and lakes known at one time or another under the same name, and to reconcile these with his distances and directions as worked out on a modern map, resulted in a state of such hopeless confusion that the only safe plan seemed to be to ignore place-names altogether, so far as the identification of his route was concerned. For instance, he mentions a Nelson river, and one is only saved from the mistake of confounding it with the present Nelson by the fact that the very next

day he reached the Saskatchewan. When he comes to the Waskesew the case is even worse. In a foot-note Andrew Graham informs us that "Keskatchew and Waskesew River is all one river, and is called by the French Christianaux River, from the lake of that name." Undoubtedly the Red Deer and the Saskatchewan are all one river, but Hendry has already crossed the South Saskatchewan and seen the North Saskatchewan. Why did he not name them Keskatchew or Waskesew? Again, here is the old French name Christianaux applied to the Saskatchewan, and to Lake Winnipeg. Hendry crossed a lake which he names Christianaux, and which by no possible manipulation of his distances can be made to fit Lake Winnipeg. It is morally certain that he never saw Lake Winnipeg on either his outward or return journey. One is reduced to the conclusion that either he or Graham confused the large lake which he crossed, and which he named Christianaux, with Lake Winnipeg.

Three days after crossing the Red Deer, Hendry arrived at a large camp of Archithinue Indians. The name occurs repeatedly in his narrative, and one of the chief objects of his journey seems to have been to get in touch with this tribe and induce them to bring furs down to York Factory. It would be impossible to identify the tribe with any degree of certainty were it not that Cocking supplies the key. He, too, visited the Archithinaues, and in his Journal, under date of December 1st, 1772, he says; "This tribe is named Powestic-Athinuwuck (*i.e.*) Water-fall Indians. There are four Tribes or Nations more, which are all Equestrian Indians; viz.: Mitheo-Athinuwuck or Bloody Indians, Koskitow-Wathesitock or Blackfooted Indians, Pegonow or Muddy-water Indians, and Sassewuck or Woody Country Indians."¹ The Archithinue Indians whom Hendry visited, and of whom he gives an exceedingly interesting account, were, therefore, Blackfeet. The fact that, although he went among them with no white companion, he was well received, hospitably entertained, and permitted to spend the winter in the Blackfeet country without molestation, is well worth noting, in view of the fact that the later history of the tribe is one long story of fierce hostility to the white men. One is tempted to believe that the white man must himself have been largely responsible for such a change of front on the part of the Blackfeet.

Hendry's description of the manners and customs of this tribe, as he found them in 1754, may very well be supplemented by the following particulars taken from Cocking's journal, "In all their actions,"

¹ See also Franklin's "Polar Sea," I, 169, as to the divisions and names of the Blackfeet confederacy.

he says, "they far excell the other Natives. They are all well mounted on light, sprightly Animals; their Weapons, Bows and Arrows. Several have on Jackets of Moose leather six fold, quilted, and without sleeves. They likewise use pack-horses, which gives their Women a great advantage over the other Women who are either carrying or hauling on sledges every day in the year. They appear to me more like Europeans than Americans [meaning Indians].

"Our Archithinue friends are very Hospitable, continually inviting us to partake of their best fare; generally berries infused in water with fat, very agreeable eating. Their manner of showing respect to strangers is, in holding the pipe while they smoke. This is done three times. Afterwards every person smokes in common, the Women excepted, whom I did not observe to take the Pipe. The tobacco they use is of their own planting, which hath a disagreeable flavour; I have preserved a specimen. These people are much more cleanly in their cloathing and food than my companions [Crees]. Their victuals are dressed in earthen pots, of their own manufacturing; much in the same form as Newcastle pots, but without feet; their fire tackling a black stone used as flint, and a kind of ore as a steel, using tuss balls as tinder, (i.e.) a kind of moss.

"The Slaves whom they have preserved alive are used with kindness. They are young people of both sexes, and are adopted into the families of those who have lost their children either by war or sickness. They torture all the aged of both sexes in a most shocking and deliberate manner."

The information as to the Blackfeet and their manner of living, at the time white men first went among them, as contained in the journals of Hendry and Cocking, may be taken to correct the inaccurate statements of later writers, based upon insufficient evidence. For instance, George Bird Grinnell, in his "Blackfoot Lodge Tales," says that "in ancient times it [fire] was obtained by means of fire sticks.... The starting of the spark with these sticks is said to have been hard work. At almost their first meeting with the whites they obtained flints and steels, and learned how to use them." It is clear from Cocking's narrative that the Blackfeet had something much more effective than fire-sticks in 1772, and that they did not have to thank white men for a knowledge of the principle of the flint and steel.

Again, Grinnell says: "It is doubtful if the Blackfeet ever made any pottery or basket ware." Cocking distinctly says that they did make earthen pots; and Hendry was served with boiled buffalo meat in wicker baskets. Again, Grinnell says that the Blackfeet obtained horses in the earliest years of the nineteenth century. Hendry describes

them as accomplished horsemen half a century before, and from his account it is clear that the Blackfeet had possessed horses for many years previously. Probably the earliest years of the eighteenth century would be nearer the mark, as the date when the Blackfeet first made use of the horse.

After taking leave of the hospitable Blackfeet, Hendry travelled in a leisurely fashion, first to the westward, crossing Knee Hills Creek; then north-west to a point near the present line of the Calgary and Edmonton railway, about $51^{\circ} 50' N$. This was his farthest point to the westward. Turning east, he crossed Three Hills Creek; turned north-east and crossed Devils Pine Creek; returned to and re-crossed Three Hills Creek; then north-east again to a long, narrow lake which he calls Archithinue Lake, and which appears to have been present Devils Pine Lake. It was now the end of February, 1755, and a few days later Hendry, having travelled north-east from Devils Pine Lake, reached the Red Deer once more, many miles above the point where he had crossed five months before. He journeyed down-stream on the ice for a few miles, and then he and his Indians set to work to build canoes and gather provisions for the long trip back to Hudson Bay. April 23rd, the river began to break up, and five days later Hendry embarked and paddled rapidly down-stream. He followed the Red Deer to its junction with the South Saskatchewan, and the latter to the Forks. Below the Forks he visited a French trading post, an outpost of the main establishment at the mouth of the Pasquia. At the latter he was entertained by the officer in charge of the district, who had been absent on his outward journey. This officer was no doubt La Corne. From Fort Paskoyas Hendry seems to have followed substantially the same route as on his outward trip, and reached York Fort on June 20th, 1755, after an absence of almost twelve months.

In the course of this eventful and very important journey, Hendry explored an immense extent of new country. It is a debatable point whether he was the actual discoverer of the South Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan. Certainly his is the only description we have of any portion of either branch, up to the year 1754. As already mentioned, a party of Saint-Pierre's men are said to have ascended one of the branches to its upper waters, and built Fort La Jonquière there, in 1751; that is, three years before Hendry's journey. Here is Saint-Pierre's own account of the matter, in his Journal:—"The order which I gave to the Chevalier de Niverville, to establish a post three hundred leagues above that of Paskoya, was executed on the 29th May, 1751. He sent off ten men in two canoes, who ascended the river Paskoya as far as the Rocky Mountains, where they made a good fort, which I

named Fort Lajonquière, and a considerable store of provisions, in expectation of the arrival of M. de Niverville, who was to set out a month after them, but was prevented by a serious illness." It would appear that de Niverville eventually reached Fort Lajonquière, as, toward the close of Saint-Pierre's journal it is said: "M. de Niverville... gave me an account of what he had learned at the settlement he had made near the Rocky Mountains."

In face of these circumstantial statements it does not seem possible to deny the fact that one of the branches of the Saskatchewan was ascended for some distance in 1751, and that Fort La Jonquière was built there. The questions in doubt are: which branch was ascended; and where was Fort La Jonquière built? As to the former, the evidence is somewhat conflicting. On the one hand, it has been objected that Saint-Pierre's men could not have gone up the South Branch as that would have brought them into the country of the Blackfeet, by whom they inevitably would have been murdered. This opinion is based upon later experiences with the Blackfeet, but as has been seen, the Blackfeet were exceedingly friendly to white men at the time of Hendry's visit, and if this was the case in 1754, it is altogether likely to have been the case in 1751. This argument, therefore, falls to the ground. On the other hand we have the direct statement that the ruins of Fort La Jonquière were found by Captain E. Brisebois, of the North West Mounted Police, at the place where the town of Calgary now stands. "En 1875," says Judge Prud'homme, in his paper already alluded to (I, 72), "le capitaine E. Brisebois, de la police à cheval, fut chargé de bâtir un fort au pied des Montagnes Rocheuses. Il l'érigea sur les bords de la rivière des Arcs, à l'endroit même qu'occupait jadis le fort La Jonquière, dont il retrouva les ruines et lui donna le nom de 'Fort Brisebois,' auquel a succédé depuis celui de Calgary." Judge Prud'homme presumably obtained this information from Brisebois himself. In any case, M. Benjamin Sulte says that some years ago Captain Brisebois told him positively that he had discovered the ruins of an old fort, at the place mentioned, which he believed to be those of Fort La Jonquière. A good deal of weight naturally attaches to this direct statement. Yet it can scarcely be regarded as conclusive. Unless Captain Brisebois found among the ruins something that positively identified the building as a French fort—and of this there is no evidence—one would be rather inclined to think it the remains of an old North West Company fort. Remembering the temporary nature of the building erected by Saint-Pierre's men, it is highly improbable that any vestige of it would remain one hundred and twenty-four years afterward. Again, it is to say the least singular that, if a party of French explorers did actually ascend

the South Saskatchewan in 1751, Hendry should have heard nothing of it when he visited the Blackfeet three years later, and passed, as far as one can judge, within fifty miles of the place where Fort La Jonquière is said to have been built, just three years before. On the whole, while it seems certain that Fort La Jonquière was actually built, at some point on the upper waters of the Saskatchewan, there is no very convincing proof available in favour of either branch. Until some reasonably conclusive evidence is produced, one may be permitted to keep an open mind, and let the advocates of either branch fight it out among themselves.

One word in conclusion as to Hendry's earlier history. All that we know is contained in a couple of notes, by Andrew Graham, appended to the narrative. "This Anthony Hendey," he says, "was born in the Island of Wight and was in the year 1748 outlawed for smuggling, and in 1750, entered into the Company's Service, the Directors not knowing that he was under sentence of outlawry. This person, whom I knew well, was Bold, enterprising, and voluntarily offered his service to go inland with the natives and explore the country, and to endeavour to draw down the different tribes to the Factory. Before this time none of the servants at the Factories had ventured to winter with the natives. The accounts of horsemen being inland were not credited. He, Hendey, was misrepresented by those in the Bay who were not acting a just part to the Company, and he perceiving not likely to meet with promotion he had so deservedly merited, quitted the Company's service. Which made one of the directors observe afterwards, 'That a valuable servant oftentimes was not known until lost.'" In another note Graham says: "I knew this man; he was a bold and good servant and was drove from the Company's service by the ships gentry because he would not buy slops and brandy from them. He was the first person who ventured inland. I was then writer at York Fort."

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY PERFORMED BY ANTHONY HENDRY,¹ TO EXPLORE THE COUNTRY INLAND, AND TO ENDEAVOUR TO INCREASE THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TRADE, A.D. 1754-1755.

June 26, 1754. Wednesday. Took my departure from York Fort,² and paddled up Hays River to Amista-Asinee³ or Great Stone, distant from the Fort 24 miles; our course about S.W.b.W.; here we put up for the night.

27. Thursday. Paddled up Hays River till we came to Apet-Sepee, or Fire-Steel River,⁴ and paddled up to Mistick-Apethaw Sepee,⁵ or Wood Partridge River, and there put up for the night.

¹ The name is spelt "Hendey" in a copy of the Journal in the Canadian Archives, of which this is a transcript. Miss Agnes C. Laut says, however, that the Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company at Hudson's Bay House all spell the name "Hendry." Probably the latter is the correct form.

² York Factory, or Fort Nelson, may be said to date back to the year 1671, when Governor Bayly of the Hudson's Bay Company, with Pierre Esprit Radisson, first opened trade with the natives at the mouth of the Nelson. Presumably some sort of rude post was built at that time, or soon thereafter. In 1682, Radisson—now acting in the French interest—built Fort Bourbon near the mouth of Hayes river. Thereafter the post repeatedly changed hands. The accompanying plate—reduced from one in Robson's "Hudson's Bay"—shows the capture of the fort by D'Iberville in 1694. Restored under the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1782 it was again captured by the French, under La Perouse. For further particulars, see Kingsford's "History of Canada," iii, ch. 1 and 2; Radisson's "Voyages," Prince Society, 1885; Oldmixon's "British Empire in America"; Robson's "Hudson's Bay"; Jérémie's Narrative, in "Recueil des voyages du Nord," iii; Bacqueville de la Potherie's "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale." See also the very interesting Account of the Forts in the Bay in 1771, by Andrew Graham, quoted by Dr. George Bryce in his "Hudson's Bay Company," ch. xiii.

³ A small tributary of Hayes river, flowing in on the north side, and still known to the Indians as the Amista-Asinee. The English name is now given as Stoney river or creek. The bed is full of large, round boulders; hence the name. Lake Mistassini represents another form of the same name.

⁴ Steel River, on Arrowsmith's and other early maps. Now regarded as a portion of the Hayes.

⁵ Shamattawa river. Mr. Owen O'Sullivan, of the Geological Survey, says that a branch of the Shamattawa still bears the name of Mistick-Apethaw. The Shamattawa rises in Island lake, about 53° 40' N., and between 94° and 95° W. In Mathew Cocking's Journal of 1772-73, he mentions a river, the Chuckitanaw, which is evidently Hendry's Mistick-Apethaw. "It empties," says Cocking, "into Steel River forty miles southwest from its entrance. From York Fort to the mouth of the Chuckitanaw River canoes may be navigated pretty easy; above this river the water becomes shoal."

28. Friday. Paddled up Apet-Sepce to Pine Reach,¹ and put up for the night.

29. Saturday. Took my departure from Pine-Reach, and paddled up Apet-Sepce 25 miles N.W.: passed four large falls, the river about 16 poles wide, the banks high, and tall woods.

30. Sunday. Took my departure from inclosed fall,² and paddled 28 miles N.W.b.N. & N.W.; the lands and woods as yesterday; passed seventeen places where the water was so shoal as to be under the necessity to carry our goods and canoes over.

July 1. Monday. Took my departure from Musketo-point, and paddled seventeen miles N.W. A heavy rain towards noon with thunder and lightning. The lands high, rocky with shrubby woods. Very shallow water with stones, which obliged us to carry our canoes and goods in several places.³

2. Tuesday. Took my departure from Stony-Banks, and paddled 23 miles N.W. The river narrow and full of large stones. The banks

¹ A local name that has not survived. Pine grows all along this portion of the Hayes. In a foot-note to the original journal, Andrew Graham says: "From York Fort to Pine Reach sixty measured miles," which fixes the position of Pine Reach with at least approximate accuracy. Graham was a writer at York Factory at the time of Hendry's journey, and afterward became factor at the same place.

² Probably The Rock, a well-known point on the Hayes route. In Archibald McDonald's Journal of a Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, 1828, with Sir George Simpson, they left York Factory on July 12, and arrived at The Rock on the 14th. This was about half the time taken by Hendry, but each of Sir George Simpson's "light canoes" was manned by nine picked men, and he had the reputation throughout the west of travelling at a furious pace. In 1828 the Hudson's Bay Company had a small trading post at The Rock. McDonald says, "Had a peep at the Rock, an old establishment with its gardens." Malcolm McLeod, in a note to McDonald's Journal, says of The Rock; "There are a number of portages in pretty close succession a little above this, if I remember aright, and at one of them the boats also have to be hauled over. There is a regular roadway for the purpose, with round sticks a few feet apart, for foiling the boats on. A couple of crews can haul over one of them in a trice."

³ At or near present Mossy Portage. Sir John Franklin mentions this portage in the narrative of his first overland expedition, 1819-22, and says that the canoes were carried through a deep bog for a quarter of a mile. "The river swells out," he says, "above this portage, to the breadth of several miles, and as the islands are numerous there are a great variety of channels." Every traveller who has gone over the Hayes route speaks feelingly of the difficulties of navigation below Swampy lake. Mossy portage is but one of many on this portion of the river. Cocking's Journal at this point is nothing much more than a dull repetition of the phrase, "paddled, dragged, and carried the canoes and goods most part of this day."

are rocky and very little woods. The land looks very barren. We have neither seen fish nor fowl yet, so we are scarce of provisions.

3. Wednesday. Took my departure from Tickomeg-Reach, and paddled up a branch of Steel River 12 miles N.W.; passed much shoal water with rocky ground; obliged to carry our canoes over it. Passed thirty islands; on one of them grows a few birch trees. The banks of the River are low, on which grows Small Pines. Saw several Craw-fish and killed a duck.

4. Thursday. Left Craw-fish Fall and paddled 22 miles West.¹ Falls and Islands much the same as yesterday. Indians killed three Beaver; here are plenty of their houses.

5. Friday. Took my departure from fortunate Fall and paddled 25 miles W.b.So. & W.S.W.; passed much shoal water; and twenty-four islands; there is not a foot of water for a mile. We are greatly fatigued with carrying and hauling the Canoes, and not very well-fed, but the Natives are continually Smoking, which I already experience allays hunger.

6. Saturday. Took my departure from Pike-reach, and paddled 26 miles W.b.S.; then we left Steel River and entered Attick-Sagohan, or Deer Lake²; killed a good many pike and three Ducks, which are very acceptable.

¹ Hendry was now passing through Swampy lake. At the entrance to the lake there was, in Franklin's day, a point bearing the significant name of the Dramstone. "We complied," he says, dryly, "with the custom from whence it derives its name." Here the boats' crews were accustomed to celebrate the "termination of the laborious ascent of Hill River." David Thompson, the famous astronomer of the North West Company, in a description of the Hayes route, says of the portion of the river below Swampy lake: "This distance is but a succession of banks of sand, impetuous currents, broken rocks cropping up to water level; it requires twelve portages, independently of partial discharges and disembarkments at several places." Dr. Robert Bell, in his Report on the country between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay, 1878, says that Swampy lake is a narrow strip of water ten miles long; that its name is derived from a point composed of peat on the northwest side, about half-way down. He adds that for nineteen miles below Swampy lake the river flows through a labyrinth of small islands.

² Hendry's distances rather fit in with the theory that his Attick-Sagohan was present Oxford lake, but the course below cannot be reconciled with his passage through the broad expanse of Knee lake. It seems more reasonable to conclude that this lake, the first mentioned on his journey, was Knee lake. From Swampy lake, which is nothing more than a comparatively insignificant widening of the river, his course lay up Jack river. His distances here are exaggerated. Jack river is only about ten miles long, very much broken by rapids in the lower half of its course. Knee lake, according to Dr. Bell, has a total length of forty miles. Hendry traversed the lower portion, and then entered the river, which he is now about to describe.

7. Sunday. Took my departure from Three-Beacon Island and paddled 12 Miles W.S.W.; then came to the River. The Natives are divided as to the name of this River; however, it cannot with propriety be called Apet-Sepee, or Steel River.¹ We paddled 12 miles up it. The Banks are hills and dales on which grow small pines. The River 12 poles wide; the water very deep in some places, and in other places not six inches water and many Islands. Deer-Lake is large and deep, encompassed with tall woods of Pines and Birch trees.

8. Monday. Paddled 26 Miles up the River W.N.W.; Islands and Rocks all the way. In the evening, left the River, and put up on an Island in Christianaux Lake.²

9. Tuesday. Took my departure from Egg Island, and paddled 26 miles S.W. & S.W.b.S. in the Lake; passed 22 woody Islands, and put up on one for the night.

10. Wednesday. Took my departure from Pike Islands, and Paddled 25 miles W.S.W. until we came to a river on the West side the Lake, where we put up for the night.

11. Thursday. Took my departure from Shad Fall and paddled two miles S.W. up the River, when it began to blow with Rain, which obliged us to put up. Here twenty Canoes of Natives passed us on their way to York Fort, with whom I sent a letter to Mr. James Isham,³ the Chief.

12. Friday. A continuance of rain; paddled none. Some drink- ing and others fishing. Fish is our daily food.

¹ This river, he says, cannot with propriety be called Steel river. He has, in fact, now left the main stream, which leads up to Oxford lake, and is ascending a small branch, running from the west into Knee lake. He is about to traverse a route from the Hayes or Steel river across to the Nelson, which there is reason to believe was used for a time by H. B. C. men, and then abandoned for the route through Oxford lake and by way of the Echimamish to Little Playgreen lake. The route followed by Hendry has never been explored by officers of the Geological Survey, but, as mentioned in the introduction, information in regard to it has lately been communicated to Mr. Owen O'Sullivan of the Survey by Rev. Mr. Banel, a Roman Catholic missionary, whose field covers much of the unexplored region between the Nelson and Hayes. A note at the beginning of the Journal—presumably by Andrew Graham—says: "This man did not go up the road Mr. Tomison goes." Tomison built Hudson House, on the North Saskatchewan, and is known to have accompanied David Thompson from York Factory to Manchester House in July, 1787. by the Oxford Lake and Echimamish route—which strengthens the argument for a different route in Hendry's case.

² Cocking's Pimochickomow Lake. In the Cree vocabulary in Lieut. Edward Chappell's "Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay," Pim-mith-e-hick-oc-mow is defined as, A lake broader than long.

³ Then factor at York.

13. Saturday. Paddled 28 miles. The River wide with small Islands; Banks low and small woods; our course to-day S.W.

14. Sunday. Paddled 25 miles S.W. The River in general good water. Indians caught a good many large Pike.

15. Monday. Paddled 24 miles S.W.b.S. met four Canoes of Indians in the French interest the Leader's name Monkonsko. He behaved civilly and informed me that I was on the Confines of the dry inland country, called by the Natives the Muscuty Tuskee; and that I should soon see a French House.

16. Tuesday. Paddled 20 miles S.W.b.S. then came to Othenume Lake.¹

17. Wednesday. Paddled 20 miles S.W.b.S.; than came to a River. Othenume Lake is a good day's paddle either way; and the woods around it are tall and well grown timber.

18. Thursday. Paddled 26 miles up the river; good water for a Canoe; the river wide, banks high, and no woods to be seen; no provisions to be got but fish.

19. Friday. Paddled 26 miles up the river.

20. Saturday. Paddled 6 miles S.W.b.S. and after dragging our Canoes $\frac{3}{4}$ miles thro' a Swampy drain intermixed with Willows, came to Nelson River and paddled on until we came to a small branch. The River is 16 poles wide, water deep and current runs Eastward, and low banks with poplars and willows.

21. Sunday. Paddled two miles up the River, and then came to Keiskatchewan² River, on which the French have two houses, one of which we expect to see to-morrow; paddled up it 8 miles West; passed a large lake, which helps to supply the River.

22. Monday. The Musketoës are now intolerable, giving us neither peace day nor night; paddled 14 miles up the River West, when we came to a French house.³ On our arrival two Frenchmen came to the

¹ Cocking's Oteatowan Sockoegan—present Moose Lake, north of Cedar Lake, on the Lower Saskatchewan.

² For various spellings, and origin of the name, see Dr. Coues' foot-note, pp. 461-2, Henry-Thompson Journals.

³ "Basquea," as he calls it when he visits the place on his return journey—Fort Poskoyac, built by the younger La Vérendrye about the year 1748; visited by Boucher de Niverville in his exploration of the Saskatchewan in 1851; and occupied by Saint-Luc de La Corne at the time of Hendry's journey. Cocking says in his Journal, under date July 31, 1772: "Proceeded & came to Basquia. Here at a small river where the Natives killed Guiniads with hand nets. Many Natives had been here lately. This is a long frequented place where the Canadians rendezvous & trade with the

water-side, and in a very genteel manner, invited me into their house,—which I readily accepted. One of them asked me if I had any Letter from my Master, and where, and on what design I was going inland. I answered I had no letter, and that I was sent to view the Country, and intended to return in the Spring. He told me the Master and men were gone down to Montreal with the furs; and that they must detain me till their return. However they were very kind; and at night I went to my tent, and told Attickashish, or Little Deer, my Leader,¹ that had the charge of me, who smiled and said they dared not. I sent them two feet of tobacco, which was very acceptable to them.

23. Tuesday. Invited to Breakfast and Dinner; thanked me for the tobacco, and presented to me some moose flesh.

24. Wednesday. Took my departure from the French Settlement, and paddled up Keiskatchewan River 6 miles; the Course West. Then left it and paddled 16 miles W.b.S. across a Lake;² then came to Peatago River;³ here are the largest Birch trees I have yet seen.

25. Thursday. Paddled up Peatago River 27 miles S.W.b.W. Large Birch trees on both sides the River. We still live on fish and are all heartily wishing for a change of food. This river is small, but good water as yet. To-morrow we shall leave our canoes and travel.

26. Friday. Paddled 28 Miles S.W.b.W. up Peatago River, shoal water; passed 9 Islands, 4 Falls, and several Canoes, which the natives had left on account of shoal water.

27. Saturday. Very shoal water. Here we left our Canoes and travelled 4 miles S.W.b.S. Here were our Indians Families in a starving condition, for want of food; and we are in the same condition.

28. Sunday. Travelled 26 miles S.W.b.W. passed two creeks and two Indian tent-places. Neither Bird nor Beast to be seen,—so that we have nothing to eat.

29. Monday. Travelled 24 miles S.W. when fortunately met with a fine bed of Strawberries, of which I did not eat⁴ very heartily,—as

Natives. Many of their Superstitious & Fanciful marks are seen here." And in a foot-note—"From York Fort to Basquia I make the Course South 46 West, distance 450 miles." Cocking mentions "an old house formerly belonging to the Canadians," i.e., the French.

¹ "Attickashish," says Andrew Graham, "was afterwards my Acquaintance and a valuable leading Indian."

² Saskeram Lake. Cocking calls this lake, Maneneshahsquatanan Sakahagan.

³ Carrot River. Pe-tahk-ho-gun, according to Chappell, means, A long distance by water. Cocking also mentions a Peatagow River, but farther up the Saskatchewan.

⁴ Obviously "not" is an error in the original or copy.

did the Natives. Two miles farther, we met with berries the size of black currants and the finest I ever eat. I, as also the Natives, are fatigued with our two days' journies, which we are obliged to perform to come up to where provisions are to be had.

30. Tuesday. Travelled 16 miles S.W. level land, cherry trees, and fields of tares are full and ripe as any in England. Indians killed two Moose.

31. Wednesday. Travelled 13 Miles W.S.W. Level lands and burnt woods; and there are nothing but stagnated water to drink. Came to two tents of Asinepoet Indians.¹ I smoaked with them, and talked with them to go down with me to York Fort in the summer, but they answered, "We are conveniently supplied from the Pagua-Mistagushewuck Whiskeheginish." That is, the Frenchman's House of Trade.²

August 1. Thursday. Travelled 12 miles S.W.b.S., fine level land and tall woods; passed three small creeks of sweet water. The Indians killed two moose; I am now entering a pleasant and plentiful country.

2. Friday. Travelled 10 miles S.W.b.S. Hills and Dales with little woods. Indians killed 6 Wascesew.

3. Saturday. Travelled 10 miles S.W.b.S. Level land with cherry trees, on which are plenty of fruit, plenty of Filberts. Indians killed 2 moose.

4. Sunday. Travelled 10 miles N.W. Land and Woods as yesterday. Met with 7 tents of Asinepoet Indians. I smoaked with them,—but have no hopes of getting them to the Fort,—as what cloth &c. they had were French, and, by their behaviour, I perceived they were strongly attached to the French interest, Indians killed 2 Moose.

¹ Umfreville, in his "Present State of Hudson's Bay," 1790, calls them the Assinepœtuc or Stone Indians; in Dobb's "Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay," 1744, they are named Assinibouels. Sir John Richardson gives the Cree name as Asseeneepoytuck, or Stone Indians. There are many other variants of the name in early narratives and journals. The tribe was finally known as the Assiniboines. According to Franklin the Assiniboines called themselves *Eascab*. Originally they formed part of the Sioux family, but separated as a result of some tribal quarrel and wandered north through the Red River country to the great plains south of the Saskatchewan. Alexander Henry, *the Younger*, gives an interesting account of the tribe in his Journal (pp. 516 et seq.); and reference may be made to the "Travels and Adventures" of the older Henry, as well as to Dr. James Bain's foot-note on p. 277. See also John McDonnell's Narrative, 1793-97, in Masson's "Bougeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest," I, 278-9.

² Hendry elsewhere bears unwilling testimony to the remarkable hold obtained by the French traders upon the western Indians.

5. Monday. Travelled 11 miles W.S.W. Level land and poor Woods; killed four Waskesew, or Red Deer, a stately animal, but the flesh coarse, and no manner equal to Moose flesh; however all is welcome to us.

6. Tuesday. Travelled 11 miles W.S.W. Level lands, and tall ledges of woods; crossed several small creeks of good water, which is acceptable; not having seen any these three days past.

7. Wednesday. Travelled none. Indians killed 3 Waskesew and, 2 Moose.

8. Thursday. Travelled none. All hands feasting, smoking, drinking, dancing and conjuring.¹

9. Friday. Level land; poplars and Willows. Passed two Salt Lakes, large lumps of Salt candid (*sic*) laying round the edges.² Indians killed 2 Moose.

10. Saturday. Travelled 4 miles W.b.N.; then put up to feast &c.

11. Sunday. Travelled 11 Miles S.W.b.W. Level lands, short grass; no woods; and no water but what is salt.

12. Monday. Travelled 7 Miles W.S.W. Level land, with small black Cherry trees, yielding plenty of fruit. Nothing but salt lakes.

13. Tuesday. Travelled 7 Miles W.S.W. Level land, short Grass. Dry-woods, and several salt water lakes. We are now entered Muscuty plains, and shall soon see plenty of Buffalo, and the Archithinue Indians³ hunting them on Horse-back.

14. Wednesday. Travelled none. The young Men hunting, killed several Moose and Waskesew; provisions plenty and good food.

¹ Nearly all early travellers through Western America have had something to say of the "Medicine" practices of the various tribes. Particularly full and valuable accounts are given in Catlin's "North American Indians," and Maximilian of Wied's Travels, as well as in the Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.

² Hendry has now travelled about 225 miles from the French post at the mouth of the Pasquia, and is perhaps 70 miles east of Clark Crossing on the South Saskatchewan. Salt, or rather alkaline, lakes and ponds abound in this part of the country. Cocking describes similar lakes: "We pitched on the side of a lake, the water disagreeable, bitterish, salt taste; salt laying on the surface an inch thick (a specimen of which I have preserved) 'and the shore like rime in a frosty morning.'" Dr. Robert Bell says (Geol. Survey Report, 1878-79, p. 10 c.), "I collected specimens of the white efflorescing salt or 'alkali' which every traveller observes around many of the lakes and covering the dry beds of ponds in the region drained by the western branch of the Assiniboine, and found that it consists principally of sulphate of sodium and magnesium, together with chlorides of calcium and sodium."

³ Blackfeet. See Introduction.

15. Thursday. Travelled 8 Miles West; saw several herds of Buffalo.

16. Friday. Travelled 15 Miles W.b.N. Level land, with Birch, Cherry and Nut-trees; passed a lake of Salt water; saw two Buffalo and two Horses; killed 6 Waskesew.

17. Saturday. Travelled 8 Miles W.N.W. Crossed a large hill full of Shrubs, and fine berries like unto black currants. Started a Hare, of size and color like those in England. Indians killed 4 Waskesew.

18. Sunday. Travelled none. The Young Men hunting, killed several Moose. I dressed a lame man's leg. He gave me a Moose nose, which is a delicate dish, for my trouble. At this place, a mineral spring as cold as ice.

19. Monday. Travelled 10 Miles W.S.W. in Muscuty plains; fine land, no woods; several salt-water Lakes; have passed but 4 places of fresh water, these five days past.

20. Tuesday. Travelled 15 Miles North; then came to Wapeseke-copet River.¹ It is large; the banks are high; on which grow Birch, Poplar, Hazle, Elder, Fir, etc.; killed 5 Waskesew.

21. Wednesday. The Indian Men made temporary Canoes of Willows, covered with parchment Moose skins.² The Women gathered

¹ South Saskatchewan. Hendry crossed some distance above present town of Saskatoon, at or near Clark Crossing. Descriptive notes on Fleming's 1858 map agree with Hendry's narrative,—"precipitous clay bluffs 100 feet high. Groves of poplar and birch."

² Cocking made use of a similar device. Aug. 23rd, 1872, he crossed the Saskatchewan in "temporary Canoes with bended sticks, & covered with parchment skins." John Fleming notes the presence of the same novel craft on the Saskatchewan as late as 1858, and attributes their use to the scarcity of birchbark for canoes in the region, through which the north and south branches flow. "These great prairie-rivers," he says. (Narrative of Canadian Red River Expedition, etc., I, 442), "are generally crossed and often descended in 'bull-boats,' or 'parchment canoes,' by the Indians, for great distances. These bull-boats are made of one or two buffalo skins, stretched on a light frame, stitched together, and the seams covered with tallow and ashes. Hunters and trappers frequently set out from Fort à la Corne, on horseback or on foot, to the Moose Woods or the great prairies on the South Saskatchewan, and return in bull-boats laden with dried meat and skins, both craft and cargo being the proceeds of their hunt." Catlin found the same boats in use among the Minatarees on the Upper Missouri. He describes it ("North American Indians," I, 195) as "a skin-canoe (more familiarly called in this country, a bull-boat) made in the form of a large tub, of a buffalo skin, stretched on a frame of willow boughs." Catlin and two companions entered one of them, and an athletic squaw swam across

plenty of excellent berries, and cherries. I angled a few small Trout; and in the evening we crossed the River in our Slender Canoes, without any accident happening.

22. Thursday. Travelled 12 Miles N.W. Level land and dry ridges of woods; saw no water till we put up at night; and that was fresh and good; thank God. Indians killed 6 Waskezew. They are plenty and although coarse food, yet go well down with me and my companions.

23. Friday. Travelled 12 miles West. Level land, no Woods, nor water, till the evening; came to a ledge of Poplars and sweet water. The Archithinue Natives has been here lately; we know by their horse dung and foot-steps.

24. Saturday. Travelled 12 Miles W.b.N. Attickasish, my Leader, and two young men, went another way in quest of the Archithinue Natives. In the evening came to Sechonby River; ¹ it is about two furlongs wide, & full of sandy Islands; the current runs easterly, and very rapid; the water deep; the banks high, on which grow Birch & Hazle trees.

25. Sunday. Travelled 2 miles West up the River in the Archithinue track. Level land, no woods but what grow on the banks; plenty of berries.

26. Monday. Travelled 14 Miles W.b.N. the land level; no woods; but plenty of fine grass. Saw two Buffalo feeding on the other side of the river. Met an aged man and a horse loaded with moose flesh, which he parted amongst us.

27. Tuesday. Travelled W.b.N. 16 Miles. Passed several ponds, & one creek of running water, in which we caught 17 small Trout. In the evening came to 24 tents of Asinepoet Indians. They have plenty of moose & Beaver flesh, with which they treated us liberally.

28. Wednesday. Travelled none. Young men hunting, killed 2 Moose; Myself and Brother Leaders feasting &c. with the Asinepoet Natives.

29. Thursday. All hands feasting, dancing, drumming, &c.

30. Friday. Left the Asinepoet Indians, and travelled N.W. 10 Miles. Level Barren land, not one stick of wood to be seen, & no water to drink.

the river, drawing the boat with one hand. The traveller gives an amusing description of how he was held up in mid-stream by a party of Minataree girls who swam out from the opposite shore, and swung the boat round and round until Catlin was thankful to pay tribute in strings of beads.

¹North Saskatchewan, at or about the Elbow (107° W.). Hendry's description will readily be recognized by anyone familiar with the locality.

31. Saturday. Travelled 12 Miles N.W. The Indians killed 4 Waskesew, and I killed one. We are yet in Muscuty plains; plenty of good water to-day.

September 1. Sunday. Travelled N.W.b.N. 10 Miles. Rocky hillocks, pleasant valleys, with Birch, Elder, Poplar & Cherry trees, with plenty of fruit. Seven tents of Indians pitched another way. We are yet above 400 in number, two-thirds of whom live chiefly on fruit.

2. Monday. Travelled 12 Miles N.W. Hills and Dales.

3. Tuesday. Travelled none. Young men hunting, killed 3 Moose.

4. Wednesday. Travelled 12 Miles N.W. here Attickasish joined us again, with 2 Archithinue Natives on Horse-back. Level land; killed a great many Waskesew and Moose.

5. Thursday. Travelled 12 Miles West. Level land, with plenty of fruit trees; plenty of Moose, Waskesew, Swans, Cranes, White & Grey Geese, also a few Ducks. We are yet in Muscuty plains.¹ Here are a great many Asinepoet Indians. The Buffalo has taken the route upwards,² and is the reason we have not yet met with Archithinue Natives

6. Friday. Travelled W.S.W. 10 Miles. Hillocks and Dales & small ledges of woods all burnt. Indians killed 5 Moose & 2 Waskesew: met with five tents of Mekesue, or Eagle Indians. I gave their leader half a foot of Brazile tobacco, and smoked with them: they were very kind, and made me a present of some tongues, & a bladder full of fat. I could perceive no difference between them and the Asinepoet Natives with regard to the language; but one circumstance surprised me much, and that is, the men do not cover their nakedness; which are the only natives that do not attend to decency. The women are clothed the same as the other Asinepoet Indians. The Natives inform me that they are a tribe of that brave Nation; and take their name from Eagles being plenty in the district they inhabit. The Leader promised to collect furs, and go down with me to the Fort. They never had traded with any European or Canadian. My Guides & Companions seemed afraid of them.³

¹ Hendry has been travelling along the south bank of the North Saskatchewan, and is now somewhere about Battleford.

² This was always a favourite route of the buffalo, whose deep-worn trails and wallows may still be seen along the banks of the North Saskatchewan.

³ A note added to the journal, apparently by Andrew Graham, reads: "Since 1755 the Eagle-Eyed Indians have traded annually at York Fort, & are highly valued. When Factor at York Fort I persuaded them to cover their nakedness, at least when at the factory." Arthur Dobbs ("Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay," p. 24), says, "The Migichiliniious, that is, Eagle ey'd Indians, are at 200 leagues distance" (from York Fac-

7. Saturday. Travelled 12 Miles W.S.W. land &c. as yesterday. Indians killed 7 Waskesew; found a dead Buffalo; it had been wounded by the Archithinue Natives; several of their Arrows were sticking in it.

8. Sunday. Travelled 10 Miles W.S.W. Level land, and ledges of woods. Indians killed 3 Moose and 4 Waskesew. Saw several pheasants and Hares.

9. Monday. Travelled 10 Miles W.S.W. over a barren plain, not one drop of water in it; then came to Hommocks of Poplar & Hazle, with a few ponds of water, plenty of Moose & Waskesew.

10. Tuesday. Travelled none. The young men and I went hunting. Killed 3 Moose & 6 Waskesew. I killed a Bull Buffalo, nothing but skin and bone; took out his tongue, and left his remains to the Wolves who were waiting around me in great numbers: they do not meddle with any person: We cannot afford to expend our ammunition on them. In the evening when we returned home, found we were joined by ten tents of different Indians, but no tidings of the Archithinue Natives. My feet are swelled, but otherwise, Thank God, in perfect health.

11. Wednesday. Travelled 15 Miles W.N.W. Level land; few woods; & plenty of good water. The greatest hardships I have yet experienced is the Warmness of the weather, and the want of Water. Indians killed 8 Waskesew.

12. Thursday. Cold raw weather which silences the Musquetoës. Travelled 11 Miles W.N.W. hilly, rocky land, and shrubby woods. Indians killed 3 Buffalo & 4 Moose.

13. Friday. Travelled 10 Miles N.W. Level land, no woods. Saw many herds of Buffalo grazing like English Cattle. Indians killed seven. The Bulls will make towards an Indian when wounded: the flesh is sweet but coarse.

tory). Again (p. 35), quoting Joseph La France, (who made a remarkable journey from Michilimackinac to York Factory, in 1738-42; by way of the Winnipeg country), he says that the Eagle-eyed Indians are so called not because of their sharp sight, but on account of the number of eagles that breed on islands in a lake in their country. Cocking, who reached the same part of the country through which Hendry is now travelling, early in September, 1772, speaks of certain high lands named Mikisew Wache, or Eagle Hills, and a small stream called Mikisew or Little Eagle Creek. Eagle Hills and Eagle Hill Creek are names well known in the Saskatchewan Valley, the former being applied to a series of hills south of the North Saskatchewan, the creek rising in these hills and emptying into the Saskatchewan above The Elbow. No doubt the tribal name and the place-names had a common origin.

14. Saturday. Travelled none. I went with the young men a Buffalo hunting, all armed with Bows & Arrows: killed seven, fine sport. We beat them about, lodging twenty arrows in one beast. So expert are the Natives, that they will take the arrows out of them when they are foaming and raging with pain, & tearing the ground up with their feet & horns until they fall down.

15. Sunday. Travelled 7 Miles W.S.W. Level land, no woods to be seen: passed by a lake: the Buffalo so numerous obliged to make them sheer out of our way.¹ Also Wolves without number, lurking Indians killed a great many Buffalo; only taking what they choosed to carry. I am now well stocked with tongues. We saw a few Moose & Waskesew; but as the Natives seldom kill them with the Bow & Arrows they will not expend ammunition, while Buffalo are so numerous. I hope we shall soon see the Archithinue Natives; the Horse dung and paths being pretty fresh. Saw a large Snake but could not get at it.

¹ The narratives of early travellers throughout the vast prairie country of North America all bear testimony to the incalculable numbers of the buffalo. Henry the Elder ("Travels and Adventures in Canada," etc., ed. by James Bain, p. 286) says, "their numbers were so great that we dreaded lest they fairly trample down the camp." Henry the Younger (I, 167) gives an even more graphic picture. "I was awakened," he says, "by the bellowing of buffaloes..... the plains were black, and appeared as if in motion..... I had seen almost incredible numbers of buffalo in the fall, but nothing in comparison to what I now beheld. The ground was covered at every point of the compass, as far as the eye could reach, and every animal was in motion." The accounts of Catlin, Professor Hind, Harmon, Butler, and other writers, are to the same effect. See particularly Vol. I of Catlin's "N. A. Indians," pp. 247 to end of volume. The late Dr. Selwyn travelled over a portion of the same country explored by Hendry, in 1873. "Not many years ago," he says, "the region we traversed was swarming with buffaloes; now, their skulls whitening on the plain, and the deep-worn and grass-grown tracks which traverse the prairies in all directions, are the only evidence of their former existence." (Geol. Survey 1873-4, p. 61). Mr. W. T. Hornaday has gone very fully into the whole history of this remarkable animal in his "Extirpation of the Buffalo"; and Ernest Thompson Seton adds some further details in an article on "The American Bison," (Scribner's Magazine, Oct., 1906). Interesting particulars as to the buffalo pounds will be found in Bain's Henry (301); Coues' Henry-Thompson (518-20, 576-77); Paul Kane's "Wanderings of an Artist," etc., (117-18); and many other writers. An excellent illustration of a pound will be found in Hind's "Canadian Red River Exp'n." etc., I, 858; while, in addition to the familiar account in Parkman's "Oregon Trail," an admirable description of the more sportsman-like method of hunting the buffalo in the open on horseback, will be found in Catlin (I, 199-20).

16. Monday. Travelled 5 Miles West, then came to a small river called Chacutenah.¹ It is full of large stones & weeds; small Hazle, Birch & Poplar trees, growing on the sides of it. Buffalo very numerous. Indians killed a great many, only taking out their tongues, and some other choice pieces; leaving the remainder for the Wolves, &c.

17. Tuesday. Indians hunting. Women drying Meat. Two Young Men miserably tore by a Grizzle Bear² whom they had wounded. One may recover but the other never can; for his arm is almost tore from his body, one eye is quite out, and his entrails are hanging from his body.

18. Wednesday. Travelled none. One Indian dead and the other in a weak condition. Two Asinipoet Natives came to us and informed us the Archithinne Natives had killed and scalped 6 Indians, and that there were a great many nigh us.

19. Thursday. Travelled 7 Miles N.W. Level land and ledges of burnt woods. Several ponds of sweet water: left one family to take care of the wounded man.

20. Friday. Travelled 6 Miles S.W. then came to 7 tents of Asinipoet Natives. I smoked with them and bought a horse from them for a gun, to carry my provisions &c. At night they let the Horses graze with their feet fettered.³

¹ Sounding Creek, between 110° and 111° W. long. In Lieut. Chappell's Vocabulary of the Cree or Knisteneaux Indians ("Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay," 257) Chah-kiet-tin-now is defined as A hill, rising ground; and in the vocabulary in Henry the Younger's Journal (535), hill is given as Tchacutinnow. Neutral Hills, between Sounding Creek and Ribstone Creek, may suggest the origin of Henry's Chacutenah.

² The grizzly bear, though popularly supposed to be confined to the Rocky Mountains, has ranged over a much wider field. Cocking speaks of "grizzle bears of the fierce kind" east of the South Saskatchewan; Henry the Younger (121) says they were abundant in the Hair Hills and at Lac du Diable, in the Red River Valley. They are mentioned in the narrative of Henry Kelsey, who journeyed inland from Hudson's Bay in 1691 or 1692; and Samuel Hearne found them east of the Coppermine. The ferocity of the species is too well known to need comment.

³ This, and the reference on the 22nd to wild horses, raises the interesting point—already discussed briefly in the Introduction, in connection with the Blackfeet—when the horse first came into use among the Assiniboines. Hendry's journal would indicate that the horse had already become, in 1754, the indispensable companion of the Indian of the plains. Yet it is clear from La Vérendrye's Journal of the Expedition to the Mandans (p. 13, Canadian Archives Report, 1889) that horses were not in use among the Assiniboines in 1738-39, at any rate among those who inhabited the country between the Assiniboine and the Missouri. It would appear that the horse, introduced

21. Saturday. Travelled 7 Miles S.W.b.S. Level land and Shrubby woods: Indians killed 12 Waskesew and 3 Buffalo.

22. Sunday. Travelled none. Indians hunting. Indians killed 6 Moose. No Buffalo to be seen. Saw several Wild Horses. The Natives behave very kind to me, except my Guide Attickashish, who is a little out of humour because I would not lend him my gun: but I take no notice, neither do I value him.

23. Monday. Travelled none. Young Men hunting killed 4 Moose & 3 Buffalo; also a large black Bear. Saw several Toads. I cannot describe the fineness of the Weather, and the pleasant country I am now in.

24. Tuesday. Travelled S.W.b.S. 5 Miles. I killed a large Moose, took the heart, & gave the remains to the Indians. Level land and ledges of woods. Saw several Magpies, Pidgeons, and beautiful Woodpeckers. We are yet in Muscuty plains.

25. Wednesday. Travelled 5 Miles West, Level land. Indians killed 6 Moose & 2 Buffalo.

26. Thursday. Travelled 5 Miles W.b.N. Hillocks & Dales. I killed a Moose, and the Indians a good many.

27. Friday. Travelled 7 Miles W.b.N. Ridgy land with hommocks of wood & small Creeks. Indians killed 6 Beaver, 3 Moose and 3 Buffalo. Saw a large smoke which we think are the Archithinue Natives.

28. Saturday. Travelled none. Several tents of Indians joined us: they made me a present of some fat meat and one dried snake 6½ feet long.

29. Sunday. Travelled none. Women dressing Skins for Shoes. Joined by more Asirepoet Indians, & two Archithinue Natives on Horse-back; who informed us it is the Archithinue Smoke we saw: and that it will be eight days before we reach them.

30. Monday. No Musketoos to trouble us; Travelled 7 Miles W.S.W. Level lands, & small hommocks of woods. Joined by more Asinepoet Indians, who have 6 pack-horses loaded with provisions, &c.

October 1. Tuesday. Travelled none. Came to us 7 tents of Archithinue Indians; the men all mounted on Horse-back, with Bows and Arrows, & bone spears & darts. I gave the Leader a foot of tobacco, one fire Steel, a string of beads, a knife; and smoked with them. By

into America by the Spaniards, was first adopted by the tribes of the Southwest, its use gradually spreading north to the Missouri. There the Blackfeet no doubt first acquired them. From the Blackfeet they were introduced among the western Assiniboinés, and finally reached their kinsmen in the Red River country. See Dr. Bain's foot-note, to p. 295 of Henry's "Travels."

my interpreter he said that he would inform their Great Leader of my coming & so left us.

2. Wednesday. Travelled 7 Miles S.W. Level land. In the evening an Asinipoet Indian shot a Boy by accident. Saw several wild Goats. My feet a little swelled.

3. Thursday. Travelled 12 Miles W.S.W. passed 2 Creeks where were growing the largest Pines and Birch trees I have yet seen. Indians killed 6 Buffalo, 2 Moose and three Beaver.

4. Friday. Travelled W.S.W. 5 Miles. Hillocks, Dales and Willows; plenty of water ponds: Buffalo in great droves: Indians killed 5 & 1 one.

5. Saturday went 6 Miles W.S.W. Level land and no woods: passed two creeks, & several Iron Mines running in large long veins. Great plenty of Buffalo. We are still in the Muscuty Country.

6. Sunday. Travelled 7 Miles S.W. Several Creeks with plenty of Beaver: Indians killed 28 Buffalo. They are not so large as those I first met with. Two young men brought in 3 Goats: they are not so large as the Welsh ones.

7. Monday. Travelled none. Several Indians joined us. I was invited to a Beaver feast: Saw the Archithinue Smoke. Here is a ridge of fine flint stone.

8. Tuesday. Travelled 7 Miles S.W. pleasant valleys, hillocks, & ledges of woods. Indians killed a great many Buffalo, took out the tongues & left the remains to be eat by the Wolves. I cannot say whether them or the Buffalo are most numerous. Saw several snakes.

9. Wednesday. Travelled 5 Miles S.W.b.W. Level land with plenty of Creeks, 16 tents of different Natives pitched from us different ways. Indians killed many Buffalo.

10. Thursday. Travelled none. Indians killed several Beaver for cloathing; as cold weather is approaching. 16 Beaver were taken out of one house. They are very numerous about the Creeks.

11. Friday. Travelled 7 Miles S.W.b.W. then came to Waskesew River,¹ and crossed it on a Fall about two feet high, and much the same

¹ Red Deer River. Mr. D. B. Dowling, of the Geological Survey, who is thoroughly familiar with this part of the Northwest, and whose assistance has been invaluable in tracing Hendry's course across the plains, confidently identifies Hendry's Waskesew river as the Red Deer, and is satisfied that the explorer crossed the Red Deer, on Oct. 11th, a little above Knee Hills Creek (51° 32'). The ironstone nodules mentioned by Hendry are found in this locality, though not peculiar to it. Dr. Selwyn, in his exploratory survey of 1873, found them in abundance on the South Saskatchewan, about 80

depth, & 20 poles wide. On both sides there are stones of different sizes & weight: quite round, and of an iron color: and a little distance from the River, are veins of iron-ore running along the surface of the ground. No woods to be seen. Indians killed several Beaver and 2 Moose.

12. Saturday. Travelled 8 Miles S.W.b.W. Level land: plenty of water; & ledges of woods. Indians killed a great many Buffalo.

13. Sunday. Travelled 7 Miles S.W.b.W. Level land, and ledges of woods; and numbers of Buffalo. Indians killed a great many. In the evening we were joined by 7 Archithinue Natives on Horse-back, who informed us we should see the Great Leader, & numbers of Archithinue Natives to-morrow.¹

14. Monday. Travelled 4 Miles S.W.b.W. Then came to us four men on Horse-back; they told us they were sent from the main body to see whether we were Friends or Enemies. We told them we were Friends. Attickasish, Canawappaw, Cokamanakisish, and the other of our Leaders walked in front about 4 Miles farther then we; came to 200 tents of Archithinue Natives, pitched in two rows, and an opening in the middle; where we were conducted to the Leader's tent; which was at one end, large enough to contain fifty persons; where he received us seated on a clear (white) Buffalo skin,² attended by 20 elderly men. He made signs for me to sit down on his right hand: which I did. Our Leader set on several grand-pipes, and smoked all round, according to their usual custom: not a word was yet spoke on either side. Smoking being over, Buffalo flesh boiled was served round in baskets of a species of bent, and I was presented with 10 Buffalo tongues. Attickasish my Guide, informed him I was sent by the Great Leader who lives down at the great waters, to invite his young men down to see him and to bring with them Beaver skins, & Wolves skins: & they would get in return

miles above the Forks; Dr. Robert Bell mentions them the same year around the Dirt Hills, east of the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan; and Dr. R. W. Ellis collected specimens in 1875 on the North Saskatchewan, between Edmonton and Victoria.

¹ See Introduction for remarks on the Blackfeet. Some interesting particulars will also be found in Catlin, I, 29 *et seq.*

² "A white buffalo robe," says Catlin ("North American Indians," I, 134). "is a great curiosity, even in the country of buffaloes, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a sacrifice, being offered to the Great Spirit as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffaloes which graze on these boundless prairies, there is not one in a hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white; and when such an one is obtained, it is considered great medicine or mystery."

Powder, Shot, Guns, Cloth, Beads, &c. He made little answer: only said that it was far off, & they could not paddle. Then they entered upon indifferent subjects until we were ordered to depart to our tents, which were pitched about a full quarter of a Mile without their lines.

15. Tuesday. Froze a little last night. Our women employed dressing Beaver skins for cloathing. About 10 o'clock A.M. I was invited to the Archithinue Leader's tent: when by an interpreter I told him what I was sent for, & desired of him to allow some of his young men to go down to the Fort with me, where they would be kindly received, and get Guns &c. But he answered, it was far off, & they could not live without Buffalo flesh; and that they could not leave their horses &c: and many other obstacles, though all might be got over if they were acquainted with a Canoe, and could eat Fish, which they never do. The Chief further said they never wanted food, as they followed the Buffalo & killed them with the Bows and Arrows; and he was informed the Natives that frequented the Settlements, were oftentimes starved on their journey.¹ Such remarks I thought exceeding true. He made me a present of a handsome Bow & Arrows, & in return I gave him a part of each kinds of goods I had, as ordered by Mr. Isham's written instructions. I departed and took a view of the camp. Their tents were pitched close to one another in two regular lines, which formed a broad street open at both ends. Their horses are turned out to grass, their legs being fettered: and when wanted, are fastened to lines cut of Buffalo skin, that stretches along & is fastened to stakes drove in the ground. They have hair halters, Buffalo skin pads, & stirrups of the same. The horses are fine tractible animals, about 14 hands high; lively and clean made. The Natives are good Horsemen, & kill the Buffalo on them. These Natives are drest much the same as others; but more clean & sprightly. They think nothing of my tobacco; & I set as little value on theirs:

¹ This native philosophy may be matched with the eloquent reply recorded of a Mandan Indian, in Charles Mackenzie's *Missouri Journal* (Masson's "Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest," I, 331); "White people do not know how to live," said this shrewd Mandan, they leave their houses in small parties, they risk their lives on the great waters, among strange nations who will take them for enemies. What is the use of beaver? Do they make gun-powder of them? Do they preserve them from sickness? Do they serve them beyond the grave?" "We are no Slaves!" continued the Chief. "Our fathers were not Slaves! In my young days there were no white people, and we knew no wants; we were successful in war; our arrows were mortal; our villages rejoiced when the men returned from war, for of the scalps of our enemies they brought many. The white people came; they brought with them some good; but they brought the small-pox; and they brought evil liquors; the Indians since diminish, and they are no longer happy."

which is dried Horse-dung.¹ They appear to be under proper discipline, & obedient to their Leader: who orders a party of Horsemen Evening & Morning to reconitre;² and proper parties to bring in provisions. They have other Natives Horsemen as well as Foot, who are their Enemies: they are also called the Archithinue Indians: & by what I can learn talk the same language, & hath the same customs. They are, like the other Natives murdering one another slyly. Saw many fine Girls who were Captives; & a great many dried Scalps with fine long black hair, displayed on poles, & before the Leader's tent. They follow the Buffalo from place to place: & that they should not be surprised by the Enemy, encamp in open plains. Their fuel is turf, & Horse-dung dried; their cloathing is finely painted with red paint; like unto English Ochre: but they do not mark nor paint their bodies. Saw four Asses.

¹ Hendry may have been under a misapprehension as to the nature of the "tobacco" smoked by the Blackfeet. Certainly in 1872 they smoked the native tobacco, common to all the tribes of the plains. "The natives shew me," says Cocking, "a tobacco plantation belonging to the Archithinue Indians, about 100 yards long & 5 wide, sheltered from the northern blasts by a ledge of poplars; & to the Southward by a ridge of high ground." La Vérendrye, in the journal of his trip to the Mandans in 1738-39, mentions that tobacco was then grown on the Missouri—"Lesté blée et tabac au bas de la rivière." When he approached the first Mandan village, messengers met him and presented him with the calumet. When Alexander Henry, the Younger, visited the Mandans in 1806, he was presented with native tobacco. As the herb was not yet arrived at maturity (it was toward the end of July) the natives used only the blossoms. "These," he says, "are collected as required, dried before the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength nor virtue." This native tobacco was the *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*. Prince Maximilian says that the Missouri Indians smoked "the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow (*Cornus sericea*), which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry (*Arbutus uva ursi*). The tobacco of the White, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars." He adds: "The tobacco cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it." Although buffalo-dung, known among the fur-traders as *bois de cache*, was always used more or less as fuel by the Indians of the plains, when wood was unobtainable, no other traveller seems to have recorded its use as a substitute for tobacco.

² See Chap. 12, Bain's ed. of Alexander Henry's Journal, for a very full account of discipline among the Assiniboines. Also La Vérendrye's Journal (Archives Report, 1889, p. 13).

16. Wednesday. Women employed as yesterday. With the Leader's permission, I rode a hunting with twenty of his young men. They killed 8 Buffalo, excellent sport. They are so expert that with one, or two, arrows they will drop a Buffalo. As for me I had sufficient employ to manage my horse. When I came home I was invited to the Leader's tent again where were all the Asinepoet Leaders, etc. I thought it very curious as there were four different languages among us. The Leader gave orders to pitch away from him, and that we would see him again in the Spring, when they came down after the Buffalo. He gave one of the Leaders two young slaves as a present and 40 Buffalo tongues; they were both girls.¹

17. Thursday. 322 tents of Archithinue Natives unpitched and moved Westward; 17 tents of Asinepoet Natives moved Northwards; and we moved S.W.b.W. 9 Miles. Level land with ledges of Poplar and willows. Passed two creeks, but little water in them; and none to be got anywhere else.

18. Friday. A gentle frost: Travelled none. The Women employed dressing skins for cloathing &c.

19. Saturday. Snow at times; Travelled none. Women employed as Yesterday.

20. Sunday. Travelled none. Women employed making Beaver coats; Men hunting; killed 5 Buffalo & one black Bear.

21. Monday. Travelled none. I asked the men why they did not go to kill Beaver & Wolves: but they made me very little answer.

22. Tuesday. Travelled 5 Miles W.S.W. Level land with poplars; a great many small Creeks & ponds, with plenty of Beaver houses. Indians killed a few, & I killed three. Fifteen tents pitched another way.

23. Wednesday. Travelled 7 Miles W.S.W. Land &c. as yesterday. Indians killed two Moose, one Buffalo & only ten Beaver; when I am certain they might have killed 200 if they had chused: but they only killed a few for cloathing, & for Beaver feasting; Buffalo being their chief food at present. The ponds here are surrounded with Beaver houses; & numbers along the Banks of creeks; the roofs are thin and easily broke into.

24. Thursday. It freezes in the nights & thaws in the days; Travelled 6 Miles W.S.W. Level land; plenty of Creeks, & Beaver houses. Indians killed 2 Moose & a few Beaver.

25. Friday. Travelled 5 Miles W.S.W. Land &c. as yesterday. Indians killed one Buffalo.

26. Saturday. Hail at times. Travelled 9 Miles W.S.W. then

¹ Andrew Graham notes, under date, 1765, "One of them was murdered at York Fort by a Home-Native in a fit of jealousy."

crossed Waskesew River ¹ 2 feet deep & 10 poles wide: The current runs East. Large timber of sorts growing on its banks. Indians killed a few Beaver.

27. Sunday. Travelled 6 Miles W.S.W. Level land; & ledges of large birch, Creeks, ponds, and plenty of Beaver houses.

28. Monday. Travelled none. Killed a Moose and a few Beaver.

29. Tuesday. Left Muscuty plains, which I have been in since the 13th August, & travelled 5 Miles West. Level lands. Tall woods, & plenty of Creeks.

30. Wednesday. Travelled 4 Miles W.b.N. Land & Woods as yesterday. Indians killed 2 Moose and several Beaver.

31. Thursday. Women dressing what Beaver Skins they have for cloathing.

November 1. Friday. We have a gentle frost in the night but is gone by noon. Travelled 5 Miles W.b.N. Level land, Ledges of tall woods, & Creeks full of Beaver houses: Killed several & 2 Moose. Saw the Archithinue Smoke, about a days journey off to the N.W. A young Man about 22 years old eat a good many Hemlocks & died in less than two hours after. He eat the above thro' ignorance.

2. Saturday. Travelled none. Indians killed a few Beaver.

3. Sunday. Indians killed several Beaver.

4. Monday. I went with the men a Beaver killing. They killed a few, & I two: they are numerous hereabouts, but the Indians would not stay above 3 hours from their tents. Dancing, Drumming &c.

5. Tuesday. Cold freezing weather. Indians killed a few Beaver, & I two.

6. Wednesday. Strong gale with Sleet at times, no stirring abroad.

7. Thursday. Travelled 4 Miles N.W. Ledges of woods & Creeks. Indians killed 2 Moose & 2 Beaver.

8. Friday. Sleet & Snow at times. Travelled none. Indians killed 2 Buffalo & 2 Moose.

9. Saturday. Frosty weather. Travelled 4 miles North. Level bushy land; & here & there a ledge of woods. Indians killed one moose.

10. Sunday. Frosty weather. Indians hunting killed 3 Waskesew. Women dressing Beaver skins for cloathing.

11. Monday. Indians killed 12 Beaver & I killed two. The Creeks are froze over, & the ponds will bear a person.

12. Tuesday. Thaws in the days & freezes in the nights. Travelled 5 Miles North. Low grassy swamps & ledges of woods, such as Birch, Juniper, & Poplar. Indians killed 2 Waskesew.

13. Wednesday. Travelled none. Women dressing skins for cloathing. Dancing, Conjuring, Drumming & feasting.

¹ Knee Hills Creek.

14. Thursday. Women making cloathing for cold weather: Some families have not got half enough of skins for cloathing them on the aproaching winter: & what surprizes me most, they never go out of their tents but when they want provisions, altho' the Beaver & Otters are swarming about us in the Creeks & Swamps, not one went out to-day but myself, & I killed two Otters.

15. Friday. Travelled 6 Miles to a creek where there are plenty of Beaver Houses.

16. Saturday. Clear frosty weather. Indians killed several Beaver.

17. Sunday. Seven tents of Indians pitched W. ward from us & what remained, killed 7 Beaver, one Waskesew, & 2 Moose. The Beaver Dams bear people, which favors in killing the Beaver.

18. Monday. Travelled none. Broke open two Beaver houses but got none; having got past our stakes, the Beaver houses are not so strong by two thirds of the thickness, as I have seen about York Fort.

19. Tuesday. Travelled none. Indians killed a few Beaver. Wild minth grows here in great plenty.

20. Wednesday. Clear frosty weather. It snowed a little last night. Travelled none. The Indian men a Beaver hunting: the Women dressing skins for cloathing.

21. Thursday. Clear frosty weather. Travelled 6 Miles S.E. Plains & Ledges of tall Birch trees. Thaws very little to-day.

22. Friday. Travelled none. Indians killed a few Beaver. One man narrowly escaped from a Grizzle Bear that he had wounded, by throwing his Beaver coat from him; which the Bear tore to pieces, & which the Natives always do when forced to retreat. The Men & Dogs went out & killed the Bear.

23 to 27. Saturday, Sunday, Monday & Tuesday. Snow at Intervals. The men killed a few Beaver; & the Women dressing skins for

¹ Andrew Graham notes: "Anthony Hendry was from York Fort on the 21st day of Nov'r L. ° 59 W't 810 miles." Presumably this means S. 59° W. Wherever Graham got his information, he was hopelessly at sea. Hendry was, as a matter of fact, at that date, over a thousand miles as the crow flies from York Fort, and had, of course, travelled much more than that distance. If Hendry's course has been correctly followed, he was, on the 21st day of November, 1754, in about lat. 51° 50' N., long. 114° W. This was his farthest point west. Since crossing the Red Deer and visiting the Blackfeet, he had travelled west, crossed Knee Hills Creek, and worked round in a N.N.W'ly direction to his present position—only a few miles east of the line of the Calgary & Edmonton Ry. From this date his courses are generally toward the east, though he zigzags about the country of the Blackfeet for five months, waiting for the ice to break up in the spring, as he is to make his return journey by canoe down the Red Deer and Saskatchewan.

cloathing. My Winter rigging is almost in readiness. Drumming, Dancing, & feasting.

27. Wednesday. Travelled S.S.E. 10 miles; & came to another Creek, where there are plenty of Beaver houses. Level land, and ledges of small woods; Saw neither Beast nor Bird to-day.

28 & 29. Thursday & Friday. Indians employed killing Beaver.

30. Saturday. The men went to look out for Beaver houses: found 20 very nigh us; killed 6 Cats, each as large as a sheep, and fine eating, like lamb.¹

December 1. Sunday. No frost here more than in the middle of summer. Indians killed a few Beaver.

2. Monday. Strong gale with Snow & Sleet. Obligated to remove into thick woods.

3 to 4. Tuesday. Frosty weather: it is now very cold: Indians pitched away from us; So that we stand in Number Viz Myself, 2 Men, 5 Women & 4 Children: killed 7 Beaver.

5 to 7. Thursday. Strong gale with freezing, drifting, weather: killed one Moose: My companions hath neither Powder nor Shot: So that we must use the gun but seldom, as they now depend on me; Women making Shoes of Moose leather: I have as yet only wore Shoes with the hair on the inside, so moderate hath the weather been.

8. Sunday. Men employed make Sleds of Birch, for the Women & Horses.

9. Monday. A Strong frost last night: killed 2 Beaver & one Cat.

10. Tuesday. Travelled East 4 Miles: Level land: ledges of woods & ponds of water: saw plenty of Moose but did not disturb them: bad walking; the ice will neither bear nor break down.

11 & 12. Wednesday. Broke open several Beaver houses but got none: The Men must look out for Beaver as they have no Ammunition & I am resolved to take care of mine, neither would it be prudent to expend Ammunition in a Beaver Country.

13. Friday. Killed one Beaver.

14. Saturday. Rained all last night & this day, so that it hath left little snow or ice: The Moose & Waskesew passing & repassing in herds, within 200 yards of our tent: The men beg Ammunition from me, but without success.

15. Sunday. Travelled none. Killed one Moose with the Bow and Arrows.

16. Monday. Travelled 5 Miles N.E.b.N. Level land, & plenty of woods: saw a great many Moose.

¹ Puma, or mountain lion.

17. Tuesday. Snow & ice all gone: killed 2 Beaver, and afterwards making Snow-shoes.

18. Wednesday. Made 7 pairs of Snow-Shoes, there being no Birch the way we are to go.

19. Thursday. Travelled 5 Miles East: Level land, no woods: killed one Buffalo.

20. Friday. Travelled 8 Miles E.N.E. Land as Yesterday: Saw plenty of Wolves, Moose and Waskesew.

21. Saturday. Travelled none: killed 2 Beaver & one Waskesew.

22. Sunday. Travelled none: Snowed all day, killed 2 Beaver.

23. Monday. Travelled nine miles E.b.N. Crossed a branch of Waskesew River: In the Evening I wounded a Buffalo.

24. Tuesday. Travelled none: I found my Buffalo lying dead a small distance from our tent. On a rising ground I had an extensive view of the Muscuty country which will be the last this trip inland.

25. Wednesday. Killed 2 Beaver. We have a frost in the night & partly gone in the day.

26 & 27. Thursday & Friday. Killed 2 Waskesew and 2 Moose: I set a Wolf-Hap. I asked the Natives why they did not Hap Wolves; they made Answer that the Archithinue Natives would kill them, if they trapped in their country: I then asked them when & where they were to get the Wolves &c, to carry down in the Spring. They made no answer; but laughed one to another.

28. Saturday. Frost & snow & very cold weather: I travelled 5 Miles N.E.b.N. Level land, & narrow ledges of poplar, Alder & trees. got a Wolf in my Hap, & set 2 more; the Wolves are numerous. An Indian told me that my tent-mates were angry with me last night for speaking so much concerning Happing, & advised me to say no more about it, for they would get more Wolves, Beaver &c. from the Archithinue Natives in the spring; than they can carry.

29. Sunday. Travelled none: got two Wolves from my Haps: Indians killed 2 Moose.

30. Monday. Snowing & freezing weather: Got two Wolves from my Haps: Travelled 4 Miles N.E.: Level land, Creeks, & Willows: killed one Buffalo: I supply them with powder very sparingly, one charge at a time; the bullet we oftentimes get again.

31. Tuesday. Hard freezing weather. Killed two beaver; very numerous hereabouts: I did speak again to kill beaver but to no purpose.

January 1. Wednesday. Freezing weather: Indians killed one Beaver & 2 Waskesew. I wear a Buffalo skin pair of shoes with the hair inwards.

¹ Knee Hills Creek.

2. Thursday. Strong gale with freezing weather: Three tents of Indians joined us: killed one Beaver.

3. Friday. Ice 4 inches thick on the ponds; & the ground covered with snow; but not so deep as to wear Snow-shoes; Indians killed 6 Waskesew, saw above 300 feeding in one plain. I plainly observe all our Traders must be supplied with Furs from the Archithinue & Asinepoet Natives; as the people that joined us had not Beaver skins to cloath them.

4. Saturday. Strong gale with snow. At night we had a grand feast with Drumming, Dancing &c.

5. Sunday. Moderate weather.

6. Monday. Snowed all last night: killed 7 Beaver: Feasting, Dancing, Drumming & Conjuring.

7. Tuesday. Sharp frosty weather: travelled 6 Miles N.E.b.N. Level land, & Willows: In the evening came to a Creek where were plenty of Wejacks: killed 2 Waskesew.

8. Wednesday. Indians killed several Beaver.

9. Thursday. Snowy weather: travelled 5 Miles N.E.b.N.: Level land with ledges of Brush-wood & poplar: Indians killed 2 Waskesew. In the Evening we were joined by 2 more tents of our Traders, they have as few furs as the others.

10. Friday. Indians killed one Moose & 6 Waskesew: Women knitting Snow-shoes.

11. Saturday. Freezing weather with snow: Travelled none: killed 2 Beaver: The winter is set in in good earnest so that we change from leather to fur cloathing: plenty of Creeks a small distance from where we now are.

12. Sunday. Travelled 6 Miles W.b.S. The Buffalo & Waskesew being gone that way: killed one Buffalo & four Beaver: Level land plenty of Creeks, & Beaver houses.

13 to 15. Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday. Travelled none; Indians employed hunting: killed 6 Buffalo; Saw many going Westward.

16. Thursday. Strong freezing weather; travelled 4 miles S.W.: killed 6 Beaver & one Buffalo.

17. Friday. Travelled S.W. 5 miles after the Buffalo; Level land, & no woods: the Snow 6 inches deep, & the ice rather thicker.

18 to 21. Saturday, Sunday, Monday & Tuesday. Freezing weather, with snow at times: Indians employed killing Moose & Buffalo: Wolves numerous: Every Evening the Natives are employed dancing &c. I have had nothing on my feet as yet but a thin flannel sock & a Buffalo skin shoe with the hair inwards: My Horse begins to lose flesh.

22. Wednesday. Travelled 6 Miles N.E.b.N. Level land: crossed a branch of the Waskeew River:¹ Indians killed 4 Buffalo.

23 to 27. Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday & Monday. Snow at times. Travelled none: Men feasting, & Women getting grass for the Horses.

28. Tuesday. Travelled 7 Miles W.N.W.: Level land & ledges of Birch, poplar, Juniper, Alder & Cherry trees: Indians killed three Buffalo.

29. Wednesday. Travelled 4 Miles North: passed two Creeks that are not frozen over: Indians killed 2 Moose and 2 Beaver.

30. Thursday. The men went to look out for Indians, but found none: I wounded a Buffalo.

31. Friday. Travelled 4 Miles North: Hillocks, Dales, & ledges of Fir-trees: Crossed a branch of Waskeew river:² Indians killed a Moose & 2 Buffalo.

February 1. Saturday. Freezing weather: preparing Snow-shoes: I have wore none yet: I made a few Steels for a French Leader out of an old file.

2. Sunday. The French Leader named Wappenesew³ promises to go with me to the Fort: He hath a great sway among the Natives and is much esteemed by the French: I presented him with a little powder &c. Indians feasting, Smoking, Dancing &c.

3. Monday. Strong gale with snow. Indians sweating⁴ &c.

4. Tuesday. Travelled 4 Miles North to a branch of Waskeew⁵ river, this branch is 8 poles wide & shoal water & open places: The Horses feed on Willow tops: the land S.W. is quite barren as far as I can see.

5 to 9. Wednesday, Friday, Saturday & Sunday. All hands trapping foxes. I walked in Snow-shoes for the first time this winter. In the Evening Smoked & feasted with the French Leader.

10. Monday. Travelled 4 Miles N.W. Level land & tall woods; Spoke with 4 Indian men who told us that the far distant Archithinue Natives had killed 30 of the nigh ones & 7 of our Indians.

11 to 27. Tuesday the eleventh to the 27th. Employed Travelling & sometimes laying by killing Buffalo, Moose &c in a pleasant & plenty.

¹ Three Hills Creek.

² Devil's Pine Creek.

³ "This man," says Graham, "brings yearly to York Fort 20 Canoes & is greatly esteemed by the Natives and Factors."

⁴ For descriptions of Indian sweating customs and sweating houses or sudatories, see Catlin, I, 97-8; Henry the Elder, 307; Carver's Travels (1798 ed.), 276.

⁵ Three Hills Creek.

ful country, our Course towards, the N.E.: We were joined by different tribes of Natives, who yearly visited our Settlements: they brought with them several Archithinue Women & Children Captives, with many Scalps quite green: We are now at Archithinue lake,¹ about one mile broad, & a good days journey in length; with tall woods on both sides mostly pines, the largest I have yet seen.

28. Friday. Travelled 4 Miles N.E.b.E. then put up to feast &c. The Scalps were displayed on long poles round the tents; & the Captives, Boys & Girls, were given away as presents to one another. They presented to me a Boy & Girl; which I declined accepting of in as modest a manner as possible.

March 1. Saturday. Killed 3 Buffalo & 2 Moose: A Captive Girl aged about 17 years was knocked on the head with a Tomahawk by a Man's wife in a fit of jealousy: No notice was taken as such game is common amongst them: the unfortunate Girl had been presented to the Murderer's husband yesterday.²

2 & 3. Sunday & Monday. Travelled 20 Miles towards the N.E.: Level land; tall woods: passed two Creeks & crossed another branch of the Weskesew river.³

4. Tuesday. Travelled 7 Miles N.E. on the river: the water running over the ice in places: High banks & tall woods.

5. Wednesday. Travelled 5 Miles N.E. on the river: it thaws very much; our sleds in the water most part of the way: the banks as yesterday.

6. Thursday. Employed securing their Furs from Water, in order to hunt, Game being scarce here.

7. Friday. Indians pitched different ways in search of food: Myself and Tent mates are to continue here if we can procure food: We are twelve in number; three men, Nine women & Children: What

¹ Devil's Pine Lake, the source of Devil's Pine Creek. Lake and creek are named Ghostpine on some recent maps. The lake is about in long. 113° 30', lat. 52° 10'. Hendry's description clearly identifies the lake.

² Similar incidents are narrated in the journals of other early travellers among the western tribes. Though the women were in a state of abject servitude to their own lords and masters, fierce elemental instincts occasionally had the mastery of them. If the slave was valuable, the husband would sometimes punish the jealous wife. Generally, however, the incident passed unnoticed, as in the present instance.

³ Hendry has now returned to the Red Deer, seventy miles or so above the point where he crossed it in October. The point he has now reached is above Tail Creek, where the Red Deer turns almost due south on its way to join the South Saskatchewan.

Ammunition I had I gave to those I hope will join me, & proceed to York Fort in May next.

8. Saturday. Hard freezing weather: Men & Women repairing Snow Shoes & Sleds: My Horse is very lean.

9 & 12. Sunday. Monday. Tuesday. Wednesday. Men employed hunting, killed several Moose; We live well the provisions being good.

13. Thursday. Two young Natives in the french interest brought 12 Beaver skins to trade with us for Ammunition; I gave them a little & told them to go with me to York Fort with their furs, where they would receive more goods for them in barter, than they did from the French: They gave me fair promises.

14 to 16. Friday, Saturday & Sunday. Indians hunting, very good success: Myself hath been out of order with a Head-ack: Several Indians came begging powder but I gave them none; as I have only two pound weight remaining.

17. Monday. Freezes in the nights & thaws in the days. I went a hunting with my Companions: killed nothing: plenty of Buffalo tracks, but they have been disturbed by the Natives who hunt to the Northward of us.

18. Tuesday. I went a Hunting with my Companions; Saw many Waskesew but could not come at them; the Snow so hard makes a noise under our Snow-Shoes: Ten tents came & pitched alongside of us in order to build Canoes.

19 & 20. Wednesday & Thursday. Snow almost dissolved. The Aged men making Gunwales for Canoes, & the Young Men hunting, & not yet returned.

21. Friday. Pitched our tents on the other side of the River, Water running over the ice.

22 & 25. Saturday. Sunday. Monday. Tuesday. Snow at intervals: no walking abroad: All hands preparing Wood &c for building Canoes: The Asinepoet Natives are building Canoes below us.

26 to April 7th. Wednesday. Thursday. Friday. Saturday. Sunday. Monday. Tuesday. Wednesday. Thursday. Friday. Saturday. Sunday. Monday. All hands building Canoes & hunting; pretty good Success: Every Evening Feasting &c.

8. Tuesday. Last evening we had thunder & hail accompanied with a N.W. Wind: Men employed as formerly: I gave my Horse to an old man who is to return him in case I should return again to this plentiful Country. Dancing, Drumming &c, and all good humoured.

9 to 12. Wednesday. Thursday. Friday & Saturday. All hands employed building Canoes & in the Evening Smoking the Grand Calimut &c: Several Asinepoet Indians pitched their tents a small

distance below us; & in the Evening smoked with me, & promised not to trade with the French at Basquea Settlement, but accompany me to York Fort.

13. Sunday. Hunters killed 10 Buffalo, & two Black Bears.

14 to 16. Monday to Wednesday. Busy building Canoes &c.

17. Thursday. I killed a Mouse¹ with my Bow & Arrows, & the Natives killed a great many.

18. Friday. Saw several Flocks of Swans flying towards the N.E.

19. Saturday. Snow all gone: Men collecting Birch-Bark for Canoes.

20. Sunday. Each tent killed two Dogs & had a Grand feast; I must take notice they do not skin the Animal but scrape it & Roast it over a fire, two Young Men keeping turning it; for no Women hath any concern, not even to be present:² The Old Men Conjuring &c.

21. Monday. All hands preparing our Canoes.

22. Tuesday. The Musquitoes are plenty and sting severely.

23. Wednesday. Displayed my Flag in Honour of St. George; & the Leaders did the same, after acquainting them & explaining my reason: In the afternoon the ice in the River broke up: a great many Geese and Swans were seen flying to the Northward: In the Evening we had a grand feast with Dancing, Drumming, Talking &c.

24. Thursday. Busy about Canoes: Killed a Swan with my Bow & Arrow; they are plenty.

25. Friday. Ice driving down the river. Finished the Canoes & preparing to set out for York Fort.

26. Saturday. Busy packing the furs in proper bundles for stowing in the Canoes.

27. Sunday. Musketoos plenty & sting without mercy.

28. Monday. Embarked on board my Canoe,³ & paddled down the

¹ Moose.

² Catlin, after describing a dog-feast at one of the Sioux villages on the Upper Missouri, says (N. A. Indians, I, 230-1, and Plate 96), "I have been honoured with numerous entertainments of the kind amongst the other tribes which I have visited towards the sources of the Missouri, and all conducted in the same solemn and impressive manner; from which I feel authorized to pronounce the *dog-feast* a truly religious ceremony, wherein the poor Indian sees fit to sacrifice his faithful companion to bear testimony to the sacredness of his vows of friendship..... The dog-feast is given, I believe, by all tribes in North America; and by them all, I think, this faithful animal, as well as the horse, is sacrificed in several different ways, to appease offended Spirits or Deities." Alexander Henry, *the Elder*, gives instances of dogs being sacrificed to avert some threatened misfortune.

³ This point, where he takes the canoes for the long return journey, is about the mouth of Tall Creek.

river 34 Miles, in company with 20 Canoes of Assinipoet Natives: The River large, with several Islands, & high banks & tall woods.

29. Tuesday. Paddled 30 miles down the river: deep water & not one Cataract to be seen; tho' I am informed it is almost dry in the summer, & full of small Cataracts.

30. Wednesday. Paddled 20 miles down the river then came to Attickosish my Guide & a great number of Natives, who hath not yet finished their Canoes.

May 1. Thursday. Paddled 30 Miles down the river: High banks: a great many Islands, & lofty woods: the water hath fallen a little: we are joined by 20 more canoes.

2. Friday. Paddled 30 miles down the river.

3. Saturday. Paddled 30 miles down the river: it is very Large and many Islands, with lofty well-grown woods.

4. Sunday. Paddled 40 miles S.E.b.E.: killed 4 Waskesew & 2 Buffalos.

5. Monday. Paddled 20 miles N.N.E. & N.E.b.N.: the river very wide & deep water?

6. Tuesday. Paddled 30 miles: We expect to see the Archithinue Natives.

7 & 8. Wednesday & Thursday. Paddled 66 miles down the river: provisions begin to be scarce.

9. Friday. Paddled 30 miles N.E.b.N. down the river.

10. Saturday. Paddled 40 miles N.N.E.: the river deep & the banks high: Indians killed a Buffalo.

11. Sunday. Paddled 30 miles N.N.E.: River as yesterday.

12. Monday. Paddled 10 miles E.b.N. then came to one hundred tents of Archithinue Natives. Their Leader invited me to his tent, and gave me plenty of Buffalo flesh: our Indians bought a great many Wolves from them, for old axes &c.¹ I could not persuade them to go to the Fort.

13. Tuesday. Paddled 30 Miles: killed 4 Buffalo, a great number grazing along the Banks. The Archithinue Natives were mounted on good Horses.

14. Wednesday. Paddled 15 Miles: then killed 20 Buffalo grazing along the river side.

15. Thursday. Paddled none: killed a great number of Buffalos; Indian women and children employed drying meat. One hundred and twenty seven tents of Archithinue Natives came to us: I bought 30 Wolves' skins from them, and the Indians purchased great numbers of Wolves, Beaver & Foxes etc. which proves what the Woman formerly

¹ Thus confirming what they had told him on Dec. 28th.

told me, concerning the Natives getting part of their Furs from the Archithinue Indians. They told me that I should soon see their Leader. I did my Endeavour to get some of them down to the Fort; but all in vain: and altho' the Indians promised the Chief Factor at York Fort to talk to them strongly on that Subject, they never opened their mouths; and I have great reason to believe that they are a stoppage: for if they could be brought down to trade, the others would be obliged to trap their own Furs: which at present two thirds of them do not. These brave Natives swimm'd their Horses across the river; they looked more like to Europeans than Indians. They shared amongst us 10 Buffalo.

16. Friday. Paddled 30 Miles N.b.E. when we came to 30 tents of Archithinue Natives: I talked with them as I did with the others; but all to no purpose. Our Indians traded a great many Furs from them. They have the finest Horses I have yet seen here, and are very kind people.¹

17. Saturday. Paddled none. Ten tents of Eagle Indians joined the Archithinue Indians. Five Canoes of them are going to the Fort with me. They are a tribe of the Asinepoet Nation; and like them use the Horses for carrying the baggage and not to ride on. I was invited to the Archithinue tents, where were feasting etc.: much in the same manner as our Indians practice.

18. Sunday. Paddled 22 Miles N.E.; the river broad & deep with many Islands: the banks low & small woods, Viz: Birch Hazle Poplar & Fir: killed four Buffalo; they are numerous about the river sides.

19. Monday. Paddled 20 Miles N.E.b.E.; River as before; Musketoos plenty.

20. Tuesday. Paddled 30 Miles N.E.b.N. a noble spacious river.

21. Wednesday. Paddled none. Seventy tents of Archithinue Natives came to us, headed by the Leader that I saw in the Muscuty Country: I used my utmost endeavors to get a few of his young men to the Fort; but to no purpose. They had very few Wolves or Furs of any kind, having traded them before with the Pegogamaw Indians who are gone to the Fort. We are above 60 Canoes and there are scarce a Gun. Kettle. Hatchet, or Knife amongst us, having traded them with the Archithinue Natives.

22. Thursday. Paddled 30 Miles North & N.b.W. the river broad and deep, no Islands. It appears to me at present to be a fine river but the Indians tell me that it is almost dry in the middle of Summer. The young men killed 4 Buffalo this morning & I gave away the remains of my powder & shot.

¹ These are the same Blackfeet who were in later times reputed the most determined and ruthless foes of the Whites.

23. Friday. Paddled 20 Miles N.E. then came to a French Trading House¹ where were 6 men. The Master invited me to supper, but we had no bread until we were done; then He presented me with half a biscuit and a dram of French Brandy, and told me that this House was subordinate to Basquea and they heard of my passing by last Autumn.

24. Saturday. The Natives received from the Master ten Gallons of Brandy half adulterated with water; and when intoxicated they traded Cased Cats, Martens, & good parchment Beaver skins, refusing Wolves & dressed Beaver. In short he received from the Natives nothing but what were prime Winter furs.

25. Sunday. Rained hard last night; I could not get the Natives away to-day; It is surprising to observe what an influence the French have over the Natives; I am certain he hath got above 1000 of the richest Skins.

26. Monday. Paddled 47 miles N.E.b.N. the River broad and lofty woods.

27. Tuesday. Paddled 70 miles N.E.: Low banks, Tall woods, and deep water.

28. Wednesday. Thunder & lightning. Paddled 24 miles E.N.E. then came to a Creek where we angled plenty of Fish which were acceptable.

29. Thursday. Paddled 60 miles, then came to a French House I passed last Autumn;² there were a Master & 9 men. On our arrival they gave the Natives 10 Gallons of Brandy adulterated, and they are now drunk. The Master³ invited me in to sup with him, and was very kind: He is dressed very Genteel, but the men wear nothing but thin drawers, & striped cotton shirts ruffled at the hands & breast. This House has been long a place of Trade belonging to the French, & named Basquea. It is 26 feet long; 12 feet wide; 9 feet high to the ridge; having a sloping roof; the Walls Log on Log; the top covered with Birch-rind, fastened together with Willows, & divided into three apartments: One for Trading goods, one for Furs, and the third they dwell in.

30. Friday. The Indians drank so much I could not get them away; nor was I capable to prevent them from trading their prime furs. I breakfasted with the French Master, and he showed me the stock of Furs Viz: A brave parcel of Cased Cats, Martens, and parchment Beaver. Their Birch-rind Canoes will carry as much as an India Ships

¹ Fort La Corne.

² Fort Poskoyac, or Pasquia.

³ Presumably Saint-Luc de la Corne.

Long-boat, and draws little water; and so light that two men can carry one several miles with ease: they are made in the same form and slight materials as the small ones; only a thin board runs along their bottom; & they can sail them when before the wind, but not else. The French talk Several Languages to perfection: they have the advantage of us in every shape; and if they had Brazile tobacco,¹ which they have not, would entirely cut off our trade. They have white tobacco made up in Roles of 12 lb wt. each. The Master desired me to bring or send him a piece of Brazile tobacco, & a quart, or pint, japanned drinking mug.

31. Saturday. The Indians would not set out: they have kept a continued trading with the French; and I believe many would trade all if they could persuade the French to take their heavy furs. Breakfasted &c with the Master; He said he was going with the furs to one of the Chief settlements,² as soon as he received the furs from the upper house, which would be in a few days hence.

June 1. Sunday. Could not paddle: Breakfasted with the Master: Several Asinepoet Natives distributed their heavy Furs and Pelts; that the French have refused, amongst our Indians with directions what to trade them for.

2. Monday. Paddled 70 miles E.N.E. & N.E.b.N. deep water, low banks, & tall woods.

3. Tuesday. Paddled none: mustered my Gang total 70 Canoes.

4. Wednesday. Paddled 60 miles N.E.b.N. & entered Christianaux Lake.

5. Thursday. Paddled 40 miles N.E.b.N. sometimes in Lakes & sometimes in Rivers: Carried our Canoes over three points of land.

6. Friday. Paddled & dragged our Canoes 20 miles: Shoal Water & Stones.

7. Saturday. Paddled 40 miles N.N.E. & N.b.E. barely depth of water for our Canoes: killed several large Pike and Carp with our paddles.

8. Sunday. Paddled none: killed plenty of fish.

9. Monday. Paddled 50 miles down the River: Good water, pleasant banks, with large lofty woods.

10. Tuesday. Paddled none: all hands employed killing Fish Viz. Carp, Guyniad, & Pike, also a few Shads, Burbot³ and Perch: the fish eats insipidly without Salt; my stock being expended.

¹ See foot-note, p. 321 of Bain's Henry.

² Kaministiquia, or, perhaps, Michilimackinac.

³ Lota maculos.

11. Wednesday. Paddled to Mekekeman Lake¹ Caught several Sturgeon with out Fish-gigs; good food.

12. Thursday. Paddled half way through the Lake and came to a small Island where we put up for the night.

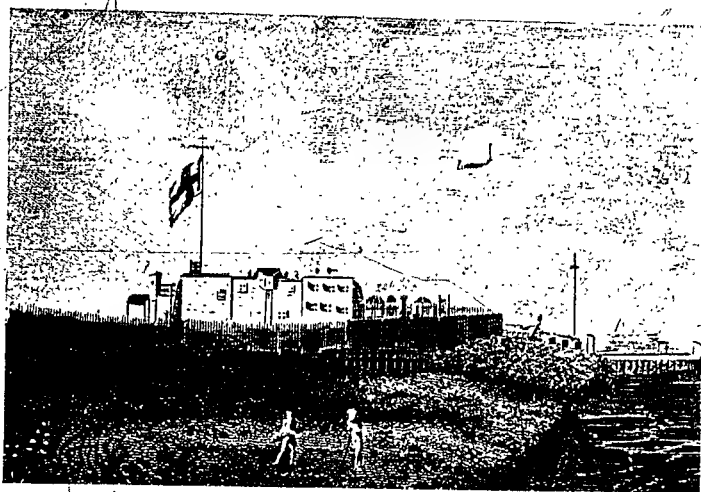
13. Friday. Paddled across the Lake and came to a small river where we put up for the night.

14. Saturday. Paddled down the river and came to Deer Lake.

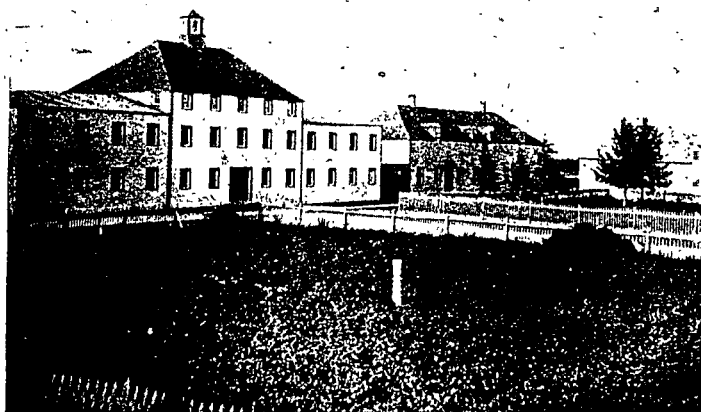
15. Sunday. Paddled through Deer Lake and came to Steel river: here met with 4 Canoes who had been at the Fort, & who informed me of the death of Mr. Skrimsheur, second in Command at York Fort; and that the Governor & all the men were well. Went & found my tobacco safe that I left here last Autumn: We smoked drank out two Runlets of Brandy that the Natives had brought from the fort.

16 to 20. Monday to Friday. Sometimes had good water & sometimes dragged our Canoes; had several Canoes damaged: when on the 20th day of this month of June we arrived at the fort, where we were kindly received.

¹ Possibly Oxford lake.

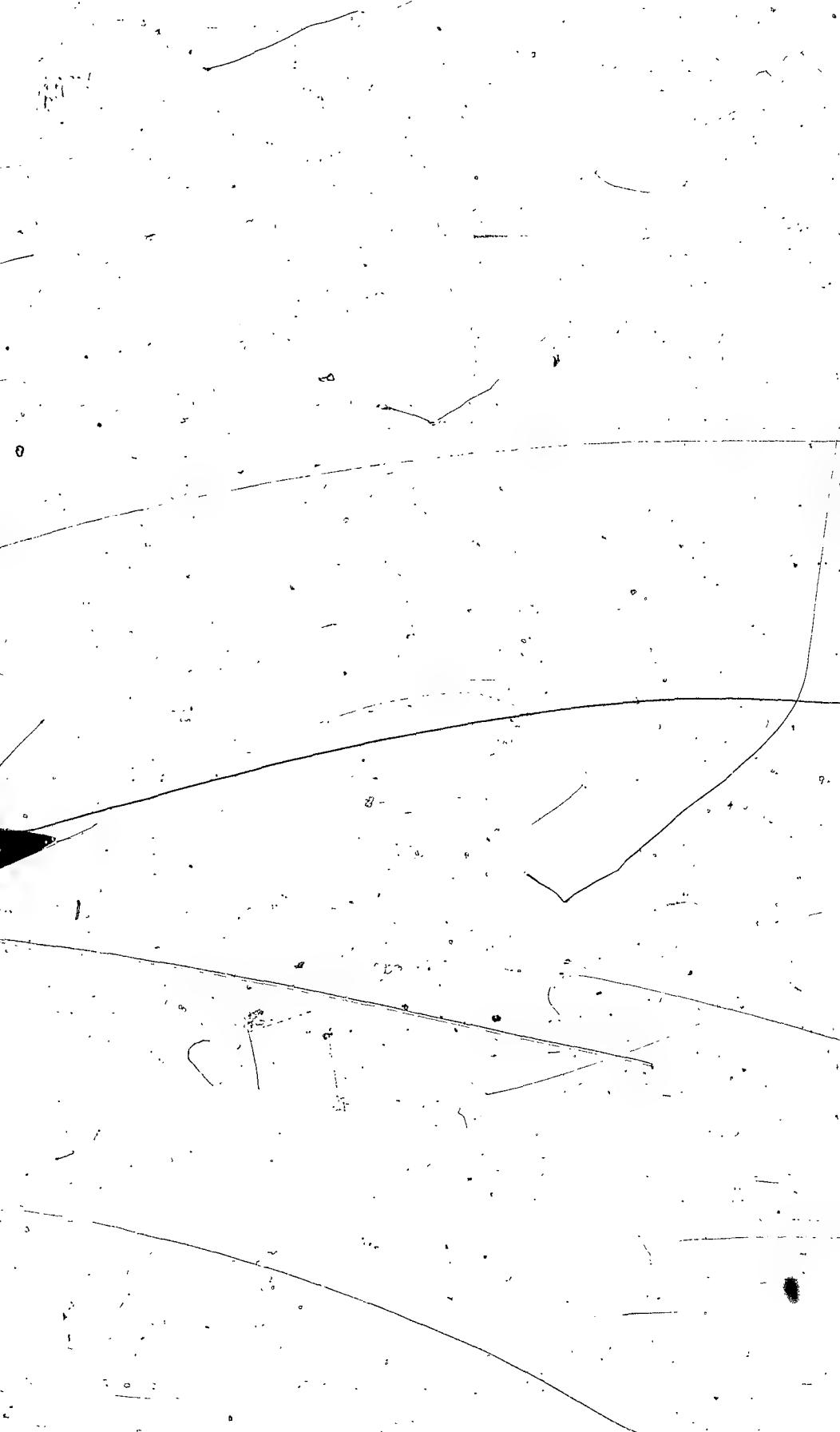


Prince of Wales Fort, on Hudson Bay.



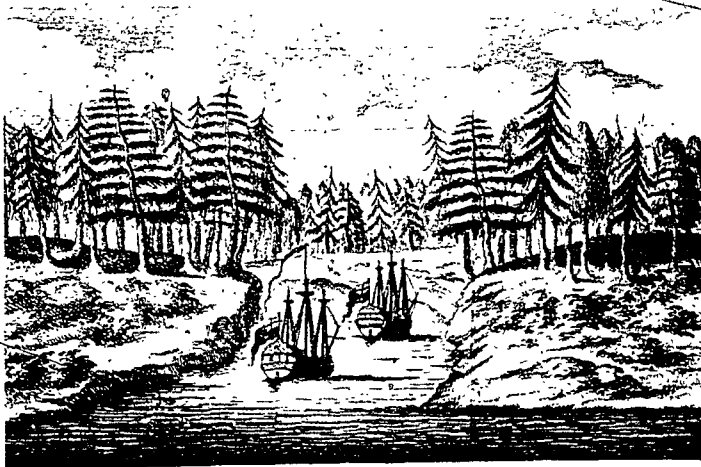
York Factory in 1884.

(Courtesy of Dr. Otto Klotz).

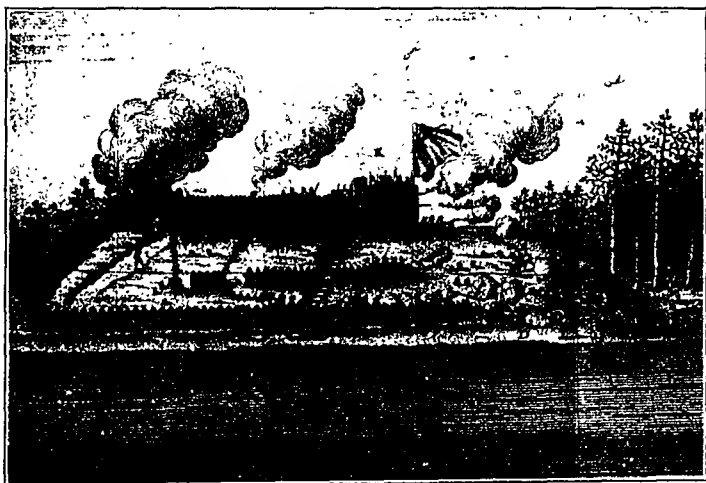




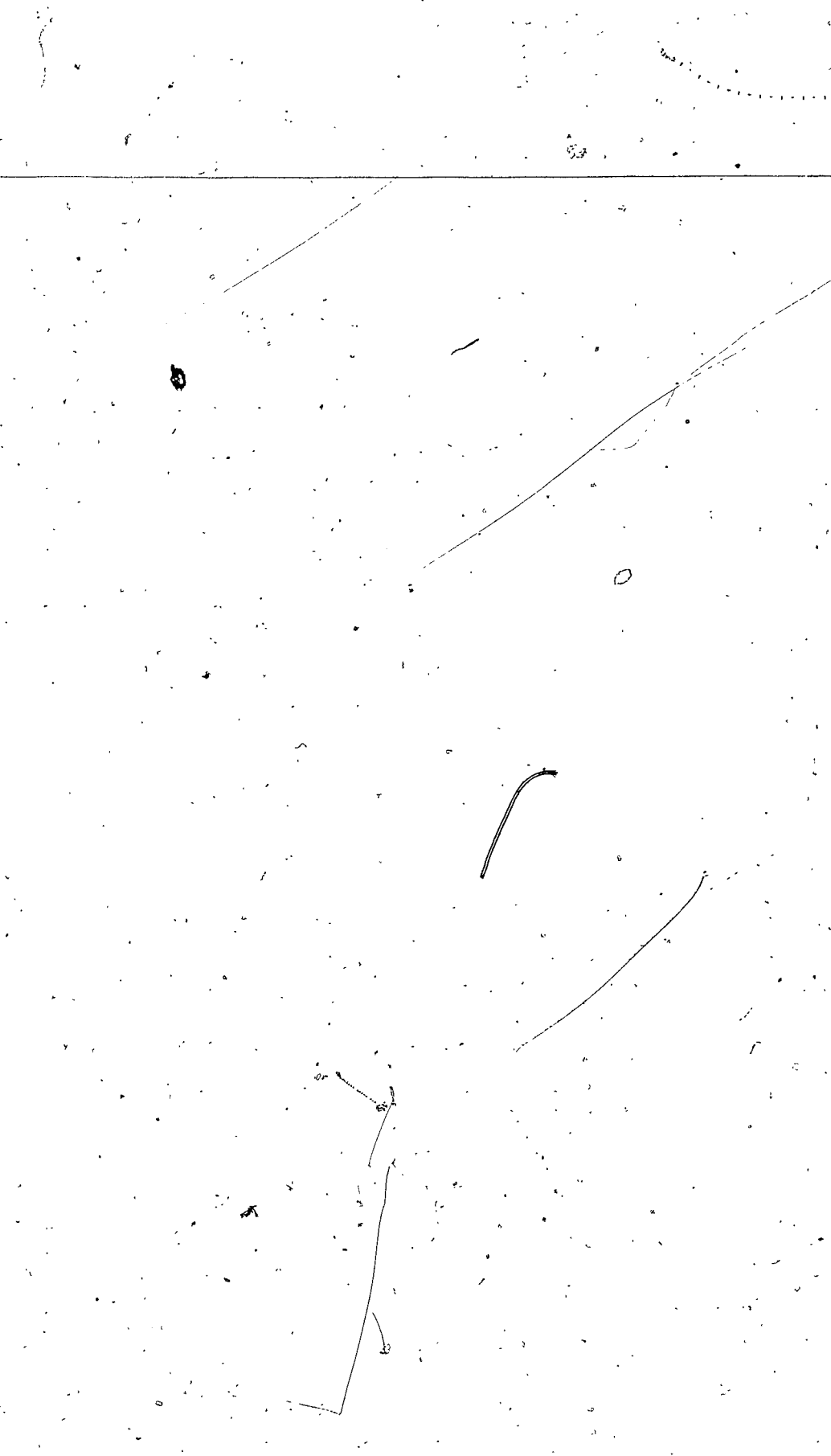
Forks of the Saskatchewan.



Creek in Hayes' River, near York Factory.

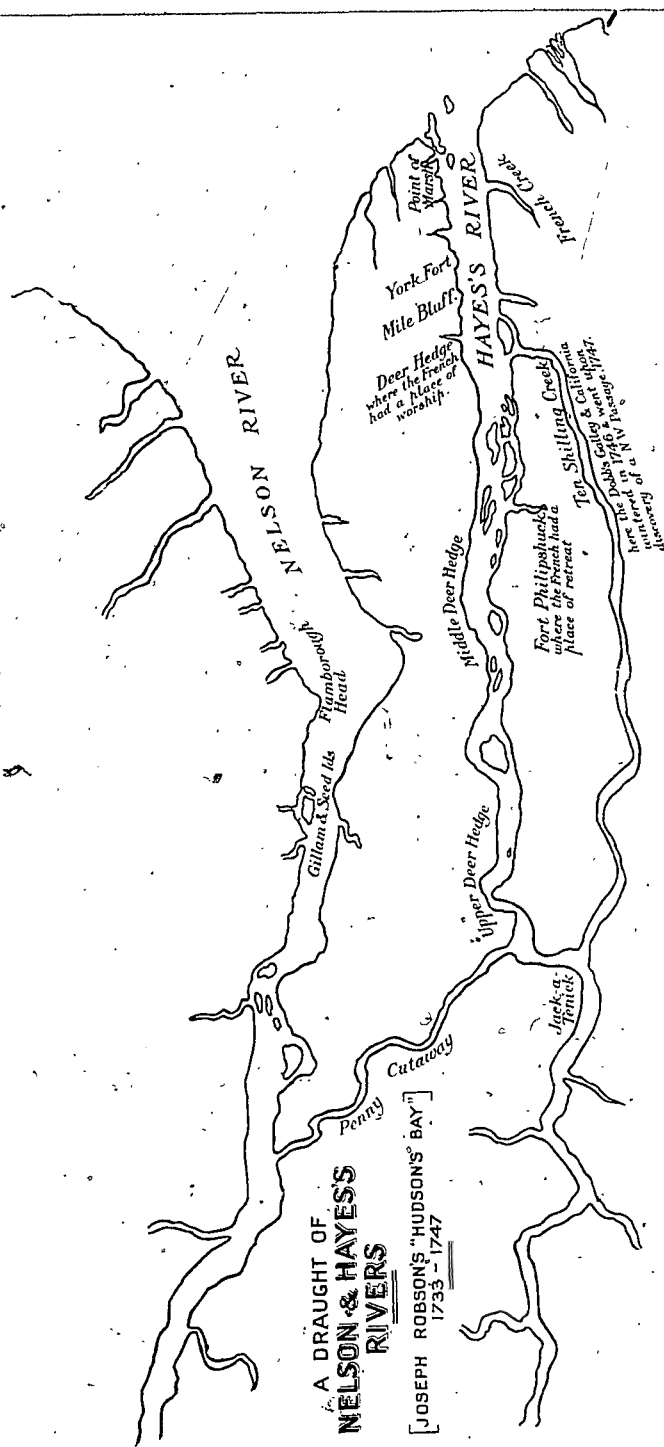


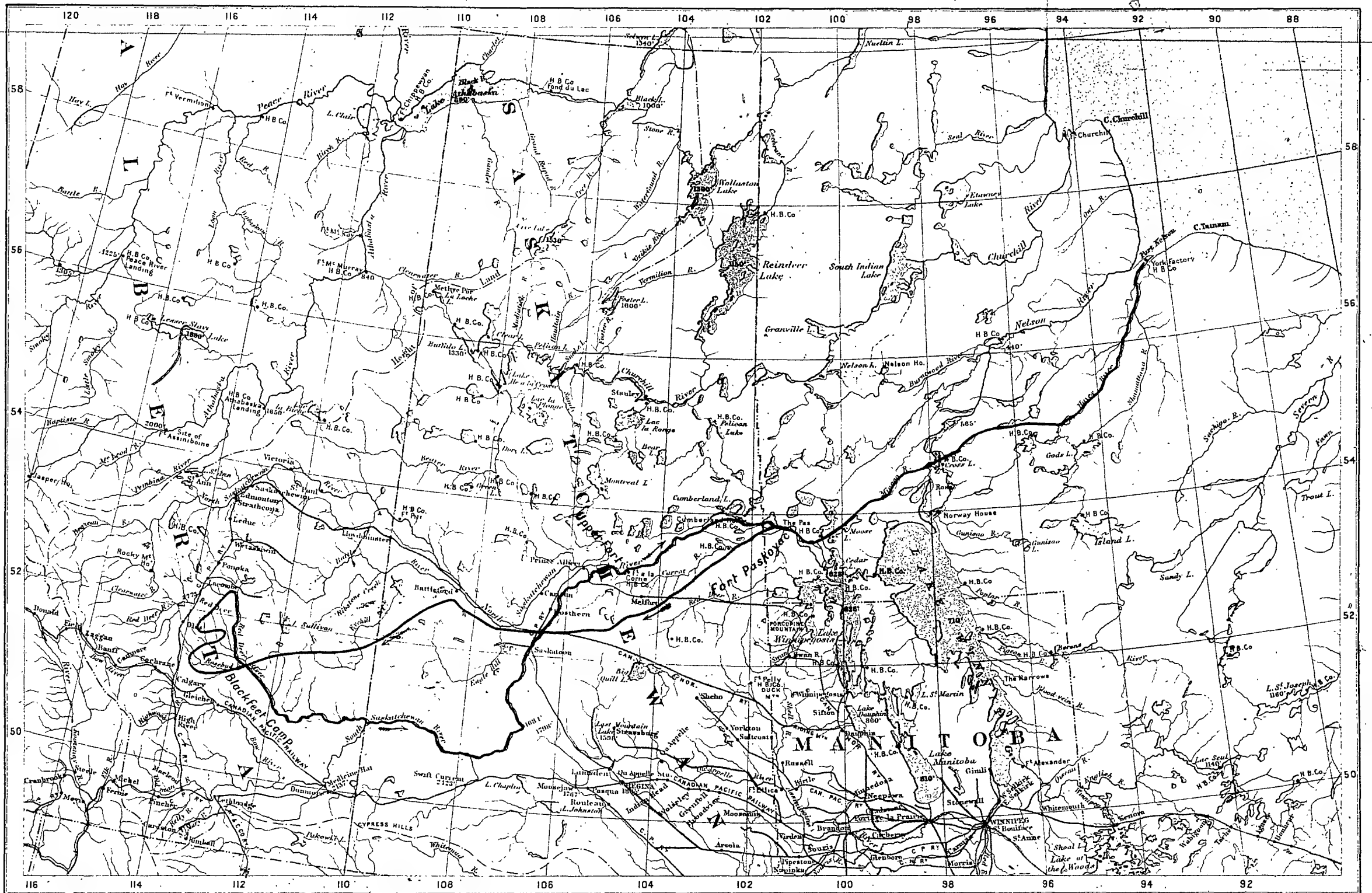
York Factory, or Fort Nelson, in 1694.



[BURPEE]

YORK FACTORY TO THE BLACKFEET COUNTRY







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